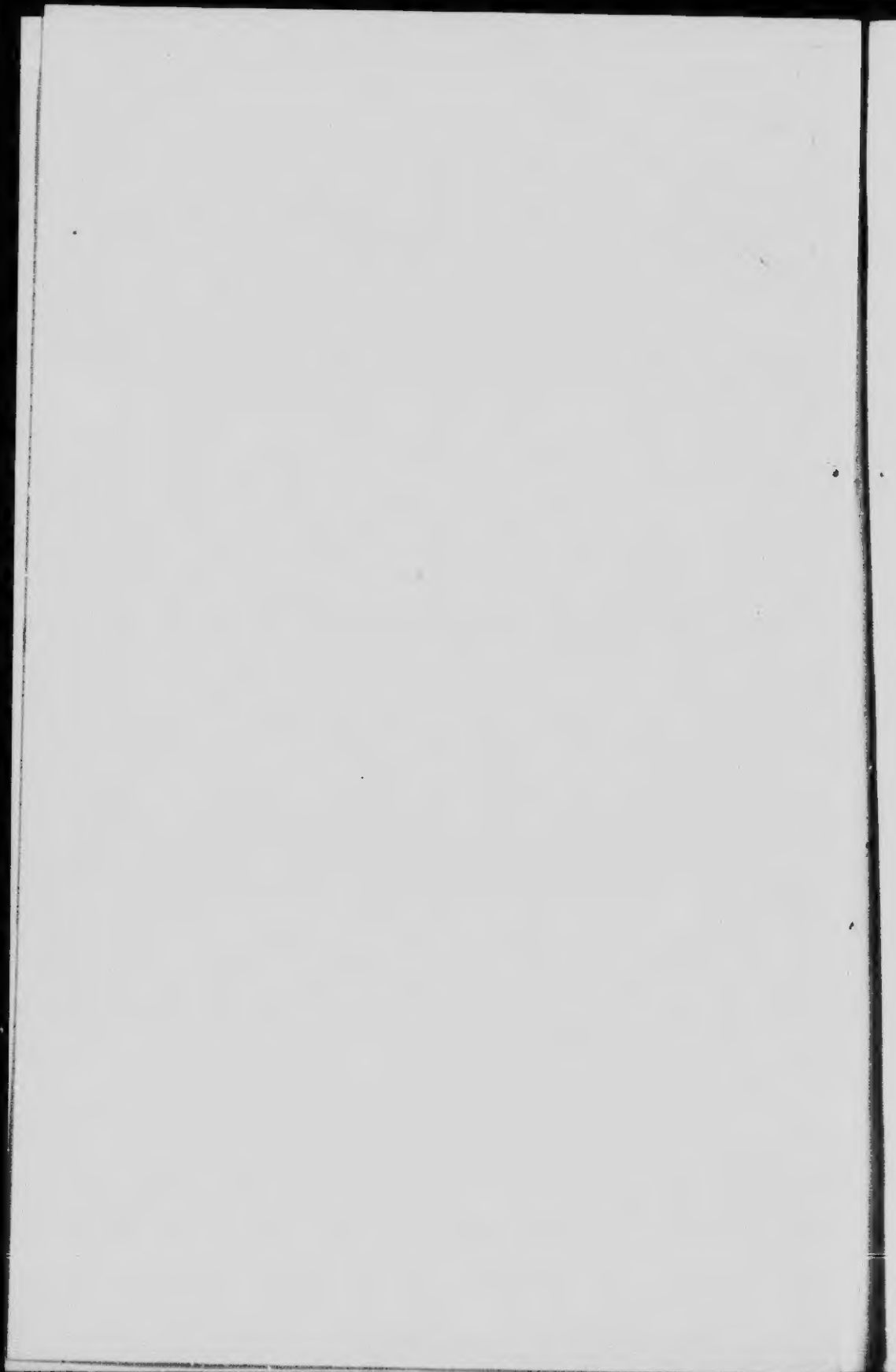


THE LIFE OF
SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT





GILBERTVS ciues aliam deduxit in orbem.
 Quò CHRISTI imbuerit barbara cõstiti fide S

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.
 From Holland's "Hervologia Anglica."

THE LIFE OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

ENGLAND'S FIRST EMPIRE BUILDER

BY
WILLIAM GILBERT GOSLING

(St. John's, Newfoundland)

AUTHOR OF
"LABRADOR: ITS DISCOVERY, EXPLORATION
AND DEVELOPMENT"

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PREFACE

I FEEL assured that readers of this *Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* will wonder why such an interesting and important character had not before received the attention of historians. It came as a surprise to me, I remember, when I wished to get particulars of his voyage to Newfoundland, to find that no biography of ENGLAND'S FIRST EMPIRE BUILDER had been written, and I then determined to undertake the task myself. I had nearly completed my work when I learned that the Prince Society of Boston had published a life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert; but being intended for members of the Society only, it is out of the reach of the general reader.

I have been at great pains and considerable expense to obtain all possible information on every detail of his career, and can conscientiously affirm that every possible source of knowledge has been explored. In this connection I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Rev. Walter Raleigh Gilbert, of the Priory, Bodmin, Cornwall, for permission to examine his family records and papers. Mr. Gilbert is the direct lineal descendant of Sir Humphrey, and I had great hopes of obtaining some interesting new facts, although Mr. Gilbert warned me that he thought it very unlikely. The search was, unfortunately, fruitless, but I am none the less indebted to Mr. Gilbert. I have also to thank him for permission to reproduce the portraits of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh now in his possession. These are thought to be very early portraits if not actually contemporary, and have not hitherto been published.

W. G. GOSLING.

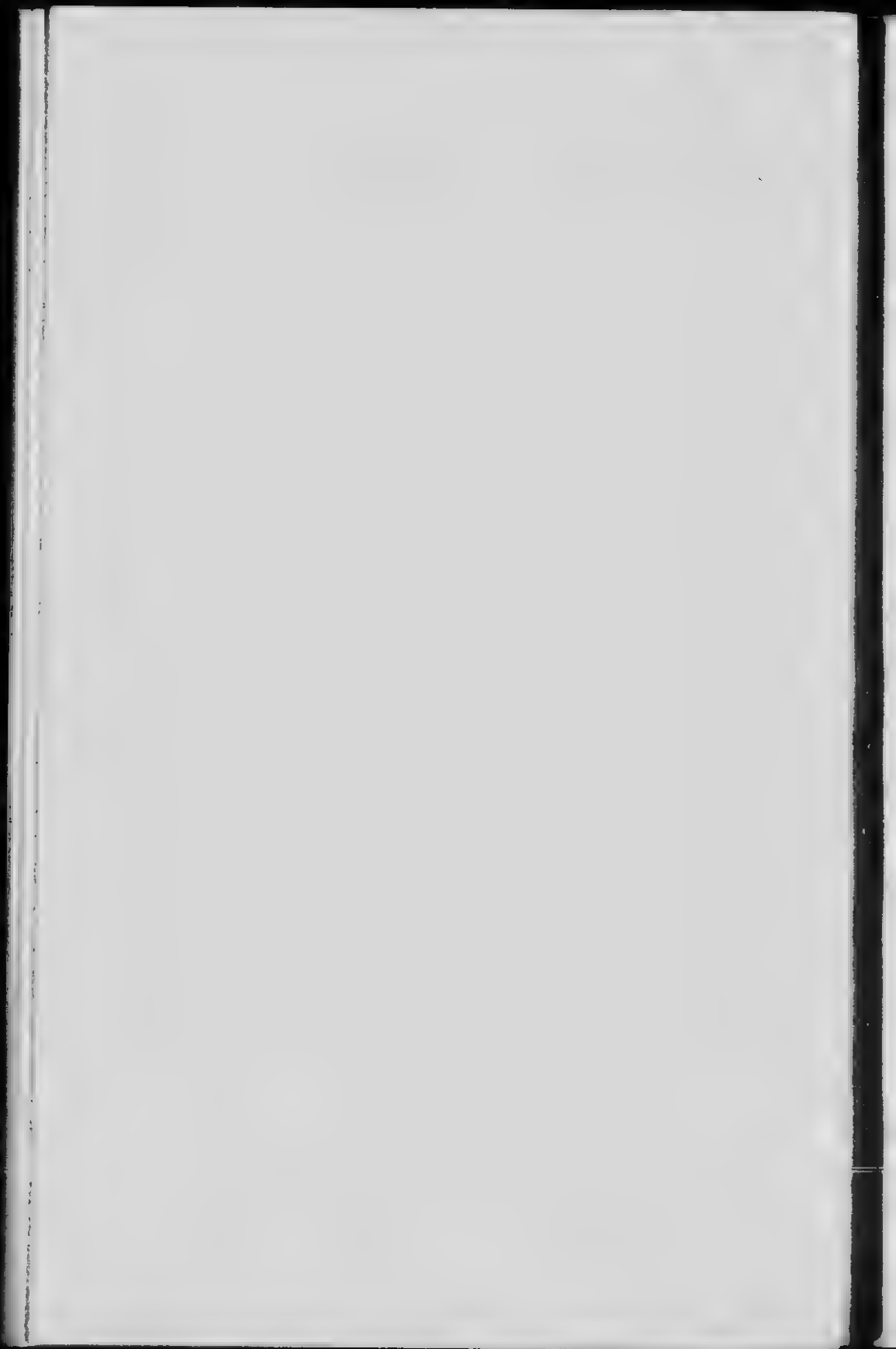
*St. Johns,
Newfoundland.*

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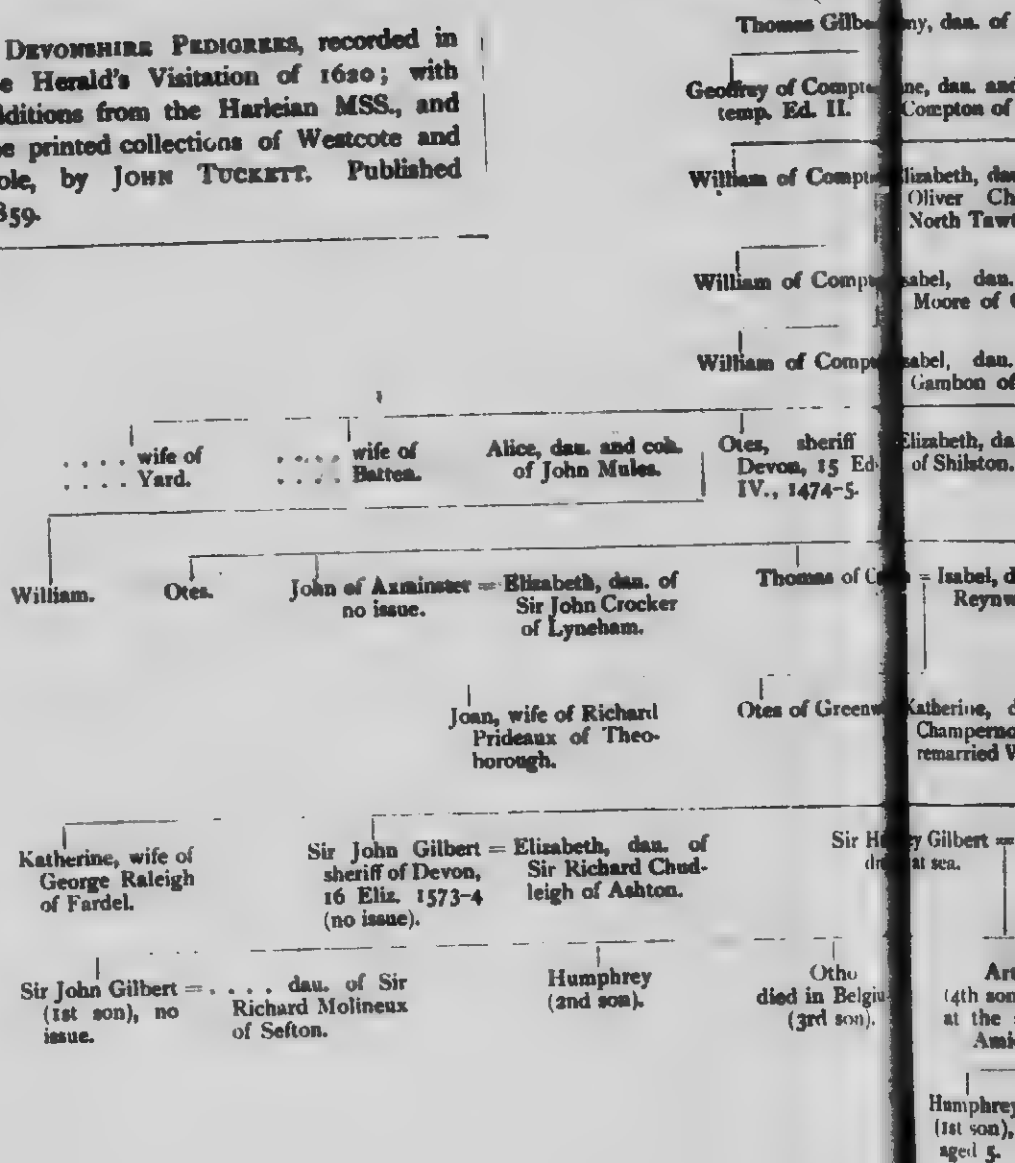
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PEDIGREE
OF
SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

GILBERT PEDIGREE

DEVONSHIRE PEDIGREES, recorded in the Herald's Visitation of 1620; with additions from the Harleian MSS., and the printed collections of Westcote and Pole, by JOHN TUCKETT. Published 1859.



EDIGREE

any, dau. of

ne, dau. and coh. of Wm.
Compton of Compton.

Elizabeth, dau. and coh. of
Oliver Champernon of
North Tawton.

Joan, wife of John Bampfild
of Poltimore.

abel, dau. of Gervise
Moore of Columpton.

abel, dau. of Walter
Gambon of Morestone.

Elizabeth, dau. of John Hill
of Shilston.

. . . . wife of
. . . . Gibba,

. . . . wife of
. . . . Holway.

Isabel, dau. and heir of John
Reynward of Cornwall.

Geoffrey, married and
had a son Edward.

Elizabeth, wife of Sir
Thos. Grenville of
Stow, Co. Cornwall.

Katherine, dau. of Philip
Champernon of Modbury,
remarried Walter Raleigh.

ey Gilbert = Elizabeth, dau. and heir of
at sea. Sir Anthony Ager of Co.
Kent.

Adrian = Emma, dau. of of
a doctor of Co. Linc., widow of
medicine. Andrew Fulford.

Arthur
(4th son), killed
at the siege of
Amiens.

Anthony
(5th son),
no issue.

Raleigh = Elizabeth, dau. and heir
of Compton, of John Kelley of
1620. Kelley.

Humphrey
(1st son),
aged 5.

Raleigh
(2nd son),
aged 4.

Ager
(3rd son),
aged 3.

Ferdinand
(4th son),
aged 2.

Amy
(a daughter),
aged 1½.

[To face p. 1

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THE LIFE OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

INTRODUCTION

UNTIL quite recently, historians seem to have taken it for granted that, for nearly one hundred years, England entirely neglected to take advantage of the discoveries made by the men of Bristol under the inspiration and guidance of John Cabot.

That they first reached the continent of America, first told of the marvellous wealth of fish of all sorts found in the waters through which they journeyed, and first described the country, clothed with forests and abounding with game; that they then failed to make good their discoveries, and left the further exploration and enjoyment of the new-found lands to the Bretons, Normans, and Basques, is not in accordance with the genius of the race.

Provoked by the taunt that the English nation, of all others, remained "in sluggishe securitie and continual neglect of any notable enterprises by sea or land," the industrious Hakluyt undertook to clear the fair fame of England from such undeserved obloquy, and began to compile that wonderful collection of Voyages so aptly termed by Froude "the great prose epic of the modern English nation." Without this great work England's maritime history in the sixteenth century could never have been written. But in recent years the gradual collection and classification of public and private documents, both English and foreign, have laid open to us

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a mass of material not available to the first vindicator of England's maritime prowess.

But neither the whole nor yet the half has been told, nor ever can be told, for there were undoubtedly numerous voyages made by the English to the New World of which there is no record whatever. Voyages unchronicled because unostentatious, not undertaken in quest of gold or for the acquisition of territory, but simply enterprised in search of the humble, unheroic codfish. The part played by the codfish in England's history is by no means inconsiderable. It was the quest of the codfish that first took England's mariners from the home waters, and it was from the ranks of the codfishers that the sailors were largely recruited for England's ever victorious fleet from the days of Elizabeth to Victoria.

The demand for dry salt codfish was so great that very early in the fifteenth century English fishermen had to go far afield for it. We learn from that quaint poem, "Ye English Policie to Kepe the Sea," and from many State documents, that fifty years and more before the date of Cabot's voyages fishermen, from both the east and west coast of England, had been in the habit of making their way, "by nedle and by ston," to Iceland, for "stocke fysche."

It seems somewhat curious that such should have been the case when the home waters were teeming with fish. But only one fish, the codfish, could be prepared so that it would remain fit for food for an indefinite period, and that useful fish was to be obtained more abundantly in Iceland than elsewhere. Besides, the cold, dry climate of Iceland was particularly well adapted for transforming the cod into the "stick" or "stock" fish of commerce. One is accustomed to speak of "the roast beef of Old England," and we picture our ancestors growing lusty and strong on a generous meat diet, but an examination of the account books of noble houses proves that in early times dry codfish and salt

herrings appeared much oftener on the bill of fare than did the juicy roast.

When John Cabot returned from his first voyage in 1497, his partners, the Bristol men, said, "they can bring so many fish that this kingdom will have no more business with Iceland," and they immediately began to prove the truth of their assertion. Cabot sailed again for the New World in 1498 with a larger fleet, to be followed in 1501, 1503, 1504, and 1505 by other expeditions, undertaken by members of his first crews, undoubtedly all for the purpose of taking codfish.

While it is somewhat a matter of controversy, there is good evidence for the belief that Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert made an extended exploration of the American seaboard in 1508, with the assistance and under the ægis of the Crown of England.

In 1521, Henry VIII and Wolsey determined to send out a powerful fleet to the new-found realms, pertaining to the Crown of England by virtue of Cabot's discovery. Sebastian Cabot, who, in the meanwhile, had taken service with Spain, was sent for to command the expedition. When he arrived he found the vessels almost ready, and 30,000 ducats appropriated for their outfit. But disputes arose with the Great Livery Companies, who were sharing in the adventure. They objected to Sebastian Cabot being put in command, "as we here say was never in that lande hymself, all if he maks reporte of manie thyngs he hath heard his Father and other men speak in tymes past"—a jealous aspersion of Sebastian Cabot's knowledge and character, which his whole history seems to contradict. Wolsey had been chaplain to the Earl of Dorset, and lived at Bristol in the early years of the century, and therefore must have known all particulars of the Cabot voyages; that he chose Sebastian Cabot to command the expedition is sufficient evidence to offset the objection of the Drapers' Company. While their meaning is not quite clear, it appears that the Drapers' Company preferred to employ

■ ■

English mariners instead of aliens. They said that the King and his counsellors "were duely and substantially informed in such manr. as perfite knowledge might be had by credible reporte of maisters and mariners naturally borne within this Realm of England, having experienced and exercised in and about the fore-said Island, as well in knowledge of the land, the due courses of the sea thiderward and homeward, as in knowledge of the havens dayngers and sholds there uppon that coste." As it stands, this statement implies that there were many English seamen well acquainted with the voyage; but the context seems to contradict it, "that then it were the lesse jepardy to aventer thider, than it is nowe, all though it may be further hens than fewe English maryners can tell."

There is no record of the sailing of this expedition. Cabot tells us that he wrote to Spain and suggested that he should be recalled, and presumably the adventure was therefore abandoned.

It does not appear that Henry VIII, good Catholic as he then was, paid any heed to Pope Alexander VI's division of the New World between Spain and Portugal, in spite of the terrible threat annexed to that celebrated Bull, "If any shall presume to infringe, he ought to know that he shall thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his holy apostles Peter and Paul." Henry undoubtedly considered that the countries discovered by Cabot, and upon which the flag of England had been planted, properly belonged to him, and he made several efforts to substantiate his claim. We learn that in 1525 he endeavoured to secure the services of Centurini to conduct an exploratory expedition. Lord Edmund Howard, about the same time, petitioned Wolsey to employ him upon a similar enterprise.

In 1527, he sent out John Rut, a naval officer, in the *Mary Guildford*, a King's ship. Rut's letter to Henry VIII, written from the harbour of St. John's, Newfoundland, "in bad English and worse writing," is the first

written news from the New World in the English language. In it he describes his voyage, "to his uttermost of his power," and refers to instructions given him at his departure, to seek other islands. It would thus appear that this was not a fishing voyage, but had some other purpose, perhaps exploratory, perhaps political.

There were several other English vessels upon the coast the same year, one of which conveyed Rut's letter to England, but Hakluyt was unable to obtain any particulars regarding them, to his great annoyance and ours.

The only other English voyage to the new-found lands of which there is any account for over a generation, is that of Master Hore, in 1536. Hore also sailed in a King's ship under the King's favour and patronage. Hakluyt rode fifty miles to obtain the story from one of the survivors, and it was well worth the journey, for it is one of the quaintest in his repertoire.

There then comes a long hiatus in the history of English voyages to the American Continent. Nowhere can there be found any record of any expedition, public or private, for many years. The Reformation and the breach with Rome absorbed men's minds, and no attempt was made to maintain England's title to any portion of the New World.

But the demand for codfish still continued.

M. Henri HARRISSE, in his *John Cabot*, 1896, says—

"Surely the English who had discovered the North-East Coast and who, with the Norman, Breton, and Portuguese fishermien, continued to frequent the fishing banks and even to make discoveries in that region, had nothing to learn from the Spaniards!" But in a more recent publication, *Découverte et Évolution de Terre Neuve*, M. HARRISSE abandons this idea, and declares that Newfoundland remained *une quantité négligeable* for England until the Treaty of Utrecht. This theory is, I think, capable of most thorough disproof.

But it is to Judge D. W. Prowse that the honour belongs of having demonstrated in his excellent *History of Newfoundland*, 1896, that, although the Crown of England had not by any executive act maintained its title, the hardy fishermen of the West Country had by no means surrendered what they had discovered, and doubtless continued steadily to pursue their calling in the prolific waters of Newfoundland. The evidence in support of this theory is rather relative than direct, but it is none the less convincing.

In 1522, many complaints were made by English merchants that their ships were "spoyled of their goods" by the French; whereupon the King sent Christopher Coo with five ships of war to cruise in the mouth of the Channel and protect the returning fleet, presumably from Newfoundland. Christopher Coo not only protected the English fishermen, but made reprisals upon the French fleet, taking, among other ships, a Breton vessel loaded with fish from Newfoundland.

Between the years 1528-1533, it is recorded that the Iceland fleet had been reduced in numbers from 149 to 85. It seems probable that many of these vessels had been diverted to the trans-Atlantic fishery. The growth of England's marine was immense during the reign of Henry VIII. He took the greatest personal interest in his ships—in their models and sailing qualities. He brought shipwrights out of Italy expert in the building of galleys; but instead of allowing them to build according to their own models, he set them to work on a design which he had invented himself. It was presumably the vessel built from his own design, that he sent ten ladies from his court to inspect. These odd naval critics sent him a joint letter of approval in the following quaint terms: "The newe greate shippe is so goodlie to behold that in all our liefs we have not seene (excepting your royal person and my lord the Prince your sonne) a more pleasant sight." In 1545, Henry, with one hundred vessels thoroughly efficient and up to date, was able to oppose successfully the French fleet.

Many of these were merchant ships which had been generously subsidized by the King upon the understanding that they were to do service whenever called upon. The Venetian Ambassador, writing a few years after, stated that there were numbers of English mariners conversant with the navigation of the Atlantic.

A Spanish geographer of note, Alonzo de Santa Cruz, who had accompanied Sebastian Cabot on his voyage to La Plata in 1530, and who was associated with him in the Casa de Contratacion, left an unpublished MS. geography dated 1536, entitled *El Yslario General*, in which he states of Labrador, "It is frequented by the English, who go there to take fish, which the natives catch in great numbers." The Casa de Contratacion was a nautical school, with special charge over the navigation of the New World. Information was drawn from every available source, and the statement of Santa Cruz may be considered excellent evidence. More direct evidence of these unchronicled voyages is to be obtained from several Acts of Parliament passed about the middle of the century, ostensibly for the maintenance of shipping.

The first Act to mention the New World was passed in 1542. It had come to light that a good deal of foreign-caught fish was being surreptitiously brought into England. Instead of catching the fish themselves, certain English fishermen had been in the habit of proceeding to mid-Channel, and there meeting the Breton vessels, had purchased their supplies from them. This Act imposed heavy penalties upon such offenders, but made exception to all such fish as might be bought in "Iceland, Orkney, Shetlands, Ireland or Newland." The inference is therefore plain that trans-Atlantic fishing voyages were then of common occurrence, requiring statutory regulation.

Another Act was passed in 1549, forbidding the levying of tolls by the Royal Navy from any "Merchants and Fishermen as have used and practised the adventures and journeys into Iceland, Newfoundland,

Irelande and other places commodious for fishing." Hakluyt quotes this Act, and points out that the trade to Newfoundland "was common and frequented in the reign of Edward VI." Lord Thomas Seymour was Admiral of the Fleet at this period, and one of the principal articles of his attainder was that he had obtained large sums by this illegal procedure; from which it may be deduced that the fishing fleets were of considerable proportions; a few isolated fishermen would have been robbed with impunity.

In Elizabeth's reign several Acts were passed referring to the fisheries in Newfoundland, but by that time the trade was in full evidence and a matter of history.

The first description of Newfoundland by an Englishman was that of Anthony Parkhurst in 1578, who at Hakluyt's request, wrote to him fully about the country. In his letter he made the remarkable statement that "The English are commonly lordes of the harbours wherein they fish, and do use all strangers help in fishing, if need require, according to an old custom of the country." Which statement is confirmed a few years later by Edward Haies, the historian of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage. We are led to conclude, therefore, that the English were recognized in some measure as "lords of the soil," by virtue of Cabot's discovery,—the right of England, while neglected by the Crown, having been maintained by a long succession of humble codfishermen. How this rude but efficacious authority was converted into actual possession and colonization, it is the object of this book to relate. To quote Mr. Edward Haies, "it is knit up in the person" of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

It seems very extraordinary that no biography of this remarkable man has hitherto been written. The best account of him is contained in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but this is naturally restricted. There is also a sketch of his life, with a collection of his letters and some of his writings, published by the Prince

Society of Boston, strictly for the members of the Society, thus making it a difficult book to obtain and consequently expensive.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was, as the title of this book declares, "England's first Empire Builder," and why the part he played in this most important of world stories has not been fully told, is somewhat of a mystery, except that it is human nature to forget the defeated, and Humphrey Gilbert failed in his great design.

He has also suffered in reputation from being overshadowed by his illustrious half-brother Walter Raleigh. The exploits of this picturesque favourite of Elizabeth have been ever a subject for historians. Numerous biographies have been written of him, and in the effort to belaud him, and to magnify his share in English colonization, Humphrey Gilbert has been pushed into the background. Very few of Raleigh's biographers have done Sir Humphrey Gilbert justice, and many of them have grossly wronged him. An effort is here made to restore these two celebrated men to their proper relative positions. Humphrey Gilbert will be found to be the author and the pioneer; Raleigh, the follower and imitator.

Since this book was completed an amusing example of the general opinion held about Gilbert and Raleigh has come to the notice of the writer. In recent numbers of that staid weekly paper, the *Spectator*, there has been a discussion about squirrels, and a correspondent has called attention to the fact that the little vessel in which Gilbert was cast away was named *The Squirrel*; he supposes that, roaming together through the woods of Devon, Gilbert had imbibed some of Raleigh's love of nature! and had therefore bestowed this name upon his vessel! The fact being, that if they had roamed the woods together, Gilbert would have led Raleigh by the hand, for he was a man when Raleigh was yet a little boy.

A great many of the references to Gilbert by Raleigh's biographers are of similar tenor.

CHAPTER I

FAMILY CONNECTIONS, BIRTH AND BOYHOOD

THE surname Gilbert is evidently of Norman origin, but it is certain that the Gilbert family was established in Devon long before the time of William the Conqueror. We find that in the reign of Edward the Confessor the Gilberts were already prominent and possessed of considerable property at Manaton, near Dartmoor. From the number of grants and favours showered upon them by the Conqueror, it may be safely inferred that the Gilberts vigorously supported his cause, as might have been expected from their Norman descent. In Domesday Book the name is written "Gislebert," to which was at one time added the proud prefix of "Fitz," but this was soon discarded, and the name written "Jilbert," "Jelbert," and "Gilbert."

From the eleventh to the sixteenth century the family maintained its importance, furnishing many men of renown, soldiers and high sheriffs, priests and bishops, for the service of their country and Church.

In the time of Edward II, a certain Geoffrey Gilbert married Jane, the daughter and heiress of William Compton, of Compton, near Torbay, thus bringing into the family Compton Castle, which remained their chief seat for ten or twelve generations. This building in a restored condition still stands, and is considered a most interesting example of a fortified manor house. It is defended by machicolations and a portcullis, and is said to have had a secret underground passage to one of the neighbouring houses (see Appendix).

About the year 1535, the head of the family was Otho Gilbert, the second or third of that name, but while his



VIEW OF COMPTON CASTLE.
From "Remains of England and Wales."

ancestors apparently lived at Compton Castle, he made his home at Greenway on the River Dart. An early county history thus describes this charming residence: "Greenway is very pleasantly and commodiously situated, with delightful prospect to behold the barks and boats to pass and repass upon the river flowing from Totnes to Dartmouth."

In addition to these family residences Otho Gilbert possessed the manors of Brixham, Sandridge, (the birth-place of John Davies), and Hansford, and considerable other landed property. He was therefore a man of wealth and importance in the west country. His chief claim to distinction, however, so far as history informs us, was his marriage to Katherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun, of Modbury, Kent, and thus becoming the father of the subject of this memoir.

It was not the first time these families had intermarried, for we find that about two hundred years before a William Gilbert of Compton had married a Champernoun.

At Greenway were born the five children of this marriage. Katherine, the eldest and the only daughter, (who married George Raleigh, her mother's step-son), John, Humphrey, and Adrian, all to become famous and achieve the honour of knighthood, and Otis who died in his youth.

With their usual acquisitiveness, some biographers of Walter Raleigh have claimed Greenway as the home of his boyhood, but it does not seem that his connection with Greenway could have been anything more than an occasional visit to his half-brothers.

In passing, it is interesting to observe that the Gilbert family at St. Malo, over the way, also furnished some men of note. One in particular, Guillaume Guilbert, was a member of Jacques Cartier's momentous expedition of 1535, when that intrepid explorer first discovered the River St. Lawrence, and ascended it as far as the site of the city of Montreal.

There seems to have been a very close connection between many Devon and Norman families at that period, as may be learned from a letter written in 1554 by Sir Peter Carew, a cousin of Katherine Gilbert. "Are we not allied with Normandy?" said he. "Yea, what ancient family is either there or in France but we claim by them and they by us? Why should we not rather embrace their love than submit ourselves to the servitude of Spain?" It is probable that he had the Gilbert and Champernoun families particularly in mind when he wrote.

Otho Gilbert died in 1547, his will being proved on June 16 of that year. He directed that his body "be honestly buried within the church of Marledon," his heir male to have the use and occupancy of Compton Castle and Greenway during his life, the same to be left to the next heir male, and so on. To Humphrey he left the manor of Hansford, with sundry other lands, tenements, etc., in Borington and Offewell. To his wife Katherine he left the manor of Brixhampton, and sundry lands in Cornewoode, Plymouth, Ipplepen, Wolborough, and Axminster. To the other children he left in trust the manor of Galmeton, and lands in Semley and Lisbury. To his mother, Isabelle, he bequeathed the not very munificent sum of £20. The youngest child, Otis, was to remain in the guardianship of his mother; Humphrey and Adrian to be in the keeping of their uncle, Philip Penkevell, and Katherine to be "where she will at her election." In after life, John Gilbert is generally spoken of as "of Greenway," and Humphrey as "of Compton," the reason for which is not easy to understand, both properties being entailed and belonging to John Gilbert, the heir-at-law. It is possible Compton might have been leased to Humphrey, although we have no information that he ever lived there.

The date of Humphrey Gilbert's birth cannot be ascertained. Though generally stated to have taken place

in 1539, it seems probable that it occurred at an earlier date.

After a short period of widowhood, Katherine Gilbert married Walter Raleigh, of Fardell and Hayes, in Devonshire, and by him had two sons, Carew and Walter, and a daughter, Margaret. Authorities differ as to which was the elder son, but the date of Walter Raleigh's birth is known to have been 1552, so that he was at least thirteen years younger than Humphrey Gilbert. This great difference in the ages of these famous half-brothers has been generally overlooked by historians, who, in their desire to eulogize Raleigh, have given him the credit of being the instigator of their joint enterprises, whereas he but followed in the footsteps of his elder brother. Gilbert's was the master mind.

There is a famous picture by a well-known artist, in which Gilbert and Raleigh are depicted as two eager-eyed boys of about the ages of thirteen to fifteen years, listening with rapt attention to the tale of adventure unfolded by an ancient mariner. Though interesting, the picture is not historically correct, for when Raleigh was a boy of thirteen, Humphrey Gilbert was a man fighting for his Queen and country.

Katherine Gilbert came herself from a famous family. Many times in English annals are the Champernouns mentioned with distinction and honour. At this time, her brother, Sir Arthur Champernoun, was Vice-Admiral of the West Country and owner of a small fleet of vessels, which, after the manner of the time, was not above doing a little privateering when occasion arose. His son Gawen Champernoun, Humphrey Gilbert's first cousin, married Gabrielle, daughter of the County Montgomerie, the celebrated Huguenot leader, thus providing family reasons for the interest taken by Gilbert and Raleigh in the Huguenot Wars in France. The Carews, another celebrated West Country family, of whom more will be related hereafter, were cousins on their mother's side. The Grenvilles were relations

through the Gilbert branch, the brave Sir Richard being often referred to as a cousin.

Walter Raleigh, senior, achieved a temporary notoriety in 1549, about the time of his marriage with Katherine Gilbert. The adventure which befell him and had such important historical results, must have created a profound impression on the imaginations of the Gilbert boys. The story is related in Hooker's continuation of Holingshed's *Chronicles*. It was at the time of the "Rising in the West," when the peasantry, who up to that time had remained faithful to the old religion, rebelled against the laws enforcing the reformed mode of worship. Raleigh, accompanied by some mariners, was riding one day from Exeter to his home at Hayes, when he overtook an old peasant woman telling her beads. He said to her roughly, "What is the good of your beads?" and told her of the laws which had just been passed putting down all idolatries. The old woman hobbled away, and breaking into the midst of the congregation which were assembled in the parish church, told the people what she had heard. "Ye must leave your beads now; no more Holy Bread nor Holy Water, it's all gone from us or to go, or the gentlemen will burn your houses over your heads." The congregation rushed out like a swarm of bees, overtook Raleigh, and imprisoned him in the tower of the church; where he was kept until the insurrection was crushed, "being many times threatened with death."

The insurgents besieged Exeter, and thousands took the field; but being almost without arms, and having no leaders of ability, they were speedily conquered by the Royal Army under Lord Grey of Wilton. It is said over 4000 poor peasants lost their lives in this hopeless struggle.

When the disturbance first broke out, Sir Peter and Sir Gawen Carew, who were Katherine Gilbert's first cousins, were sent down from London to endeavour by their influence to pacify the people. Failing to accom-

plish this, Sir Peter Carew hurried to London to report to the Lord Protector, only to find himself accused of having fanned a riot into a rebellion by his violent conduct.

It seems possible that this incident in the career of Raleigh senior, and the association of the Carews might have led to his acquaintance with Katherine Gilbert and their subsequent marriage.

It was to be expected that the mother of such famous sons would be a woman of remarkable character, a supposition amply borne out by a story of her preserved in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. It was retold by Edwards in his *Life of Raleigh*, but cannot be omitted from a life of Gilbert, who was old enough at that time for the incident to make a great impression upon him.

During the reign of Mary, Exeter was again the scene of religious persecutions, but the oppressed had now become the oppressor, and the adherents of the Reformed Church were being imprisoned, despoiled, and put to death for their religious beliefs. One of these, a poor woman named Agnes Prest, lay in prison in Exeter Castle. While ignorant and uneducated, she was firm in her devotion to the reformed faith, a devotion which was to carry her at last to the stake. Her brave attitude gained for her great notoriety through the country. Foxe relates: "There resorted to her the wife of Walter Raleigh, a woman of noble wit and godly opinions, who coming to the prison and talking with her, she said her creed to the gentlewoman," and discoursed so ably about religion that when Mrs. Raleigh "returned home to her husband, she declared to him that in her life she had never heard any woman, of such simplicity to see, to talk so godly and so earnestly; insomuch, that if God were not with her she could not speak such things. 'I was not able to answer her, I who can read and she cannot.'"

These were troublous times for Katherine Raleigh and her connections, all staunch Protestants. For her thus

publicly to sympathize with one under trial for her faith was to share in the danger, and evidences great bravery and nobility of character.

The West Country gentlemen were almost to a man bitterly opposed to the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, and were more strenuous still in their opposition to the Spanish marriage. They had had more opportunities than others for knowing the cruelties inflicted upon their fellow-countrymen by the Inquisition in Seville, and had therefore more reason to dread the advent of Philip of Spain and possible introduction of that hated tribunal.

When Sir Hugh Wyatt was planning his desperate attempt to dethrone Mary and restore the Protestant worship, Sir Peter Carew and Sir Arthur Champernown were known to be supporting him. Information was laid before the Queen in Council that these West Country knights had been plotting to prevent Philip from landing on English shores, but had not been able to agree upon a plan. Wyatt's scheme, as afterwards disclosed, was that as soon as Philip landed, when indignation would be at fever heat, a rebellion was to be started. Courtenay was to lead the insurgents from Cornwall, Wyatt undertook to raise Kent, the Carews Devon, and others the Midland counties. But perhaps, in addition, these knights of Devon, relying confidently upon the assistance of every vessel and mariner in the West Country, may have contemplated attacking the Spanish fleet upon the seas and capturing Philip, or at least causing him to abandon the attempt to land in England. Such a deed of daring-do would not have appeared too desperate for them. They were already beginning to feel their power, and were quite willing to try conclusions with Spain.

But through the weakness and treachery of Courtenay the plot failed, and Wyatt's rebellion was crushed. Sir Arthur Champernown was arrested, but was released upon tendering his services as a loyal subject. Sir



COMPTON CASTLE, PRESENT DAY.

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Peter and Sir Gawen Carew were proclaimed traitors, and Sir Thomas Denny¹ was sent to arrest them. But receiving warning, Sir Peter Carew made his escape, "having persuaded Mr. Walter Raleigh to convey him away in his bark." They fled across the Channel to France, and were received with great cordiality by the French monarch, who dreaded the alliance of Spain and England as much as did the West Countrymen. Carew immediately continued his plans to prevent Philip from landing, and being supplied with ships from France, cruised about the Channel for months plundering the Spanish shipping. But before Philip put in an appearance France withdrew her support, and Carew perforce abandoned his design.

Thus the boyhood of Humphrey Gilbert was spent among a galaxy of famous men, uncles, cousins, and other relations, all taking prominent parts in the stirring events of the times. One can imagine how deeply these incidents would impress themselves upon his mind, and how his boyish enthusiasm would have been aroused for the cause which his relations upheld so bravely, and for which he, when his turn came, was to fight so valiantly.

They were all seamen. Walter Raleigh owned and sailed his bark. Sir Arthur Champernown had several vessels, as also had the Carews, employing them in the semi-trading, semi-piratical voyages of the time. Doubtless some of the neighbouring shipping were also engaged in the distant trans-Atlantic fisheries, and stories of the strange New World would have been commonly current in the neighbourhood.

The Gilbert and Raleigh families were rich in children. Walter Raleigh, senior, had been twice married before he espoused Katherine Gilbert, and had two sons and a daughter by these marriages. With the five Gilberts and the three children of his union with Katherine

¹ Sir Humphrey Gilbert speaks later of "my cousin Denny."

Gilbert, there would thus have been eleven juniors to claim the attention of the parents. But owing to the difference between the ages of the first and last families, it is probable that the elders were out in the world while the younger members were yet babies. After the marriage with Raleigh, Hayes became their home, and there the Raleigh children were born. There is no evidence that Greenway or Compton was ever the residence of the Raleigh family, as is so often stated in biographies of Raleigh, and it is probable that the Gilberts were not long at Hayes.

In Hooker's *Chronicles* is found the following brief account of Humphrey Gilbert's boyhood: "From his childhood he was of a very pregnant wit and good disposition; his father died leaving him very young; his mother did cause him to be sent to school to Eton College, and from thence, after he had profited in the elements and principal points of grammar, he was sent to Oxforde and did there prosper and increase very well in learning and knowledge." Anthony à Wood in *Athenæ Oxoniensis* says he devoted himself at Oxford to the study of navigation and the art of war. It is, however, impossible to find out when or how long he attended those seats of learning.

In a letter written in 1581, Gilbert says he had served the Queen for twenty-seven years, "from a boy to the age of white heres," and confirms the statement in a letter written two years later, thus indicating that he had entered her service in 1554-55, when he was but fifteen years old. As there hardly seems time for him to have studied both at Eton and Oxford prior to that date, it is probable that his birth took place earlier than the date generally given.

His subsequent history will show that his scholarly attainments were far above the average of his day, and if the groundwork only had been laid during his student days, it could not have been acquired without many years' study. Such of his writings as are left to

us are lucid and masterly, and abound in lofty sentiments expressed with poetic imagery. They display an intimate acquaintance with both Greek and Latin philosophers and poets, and Latin quotations are frequently used. He had also studied numerous French and Spanish authors, and could probably speak these languages fluently.

But the greatest proof of his scholastic ability is to be found in the design which he drew up and presented to Elizabeth for the establishment of a University for the training of gentlemen's sons, to be called "Queen Elizabeth's Achademy." This remarkable treatise has been quoted recently in one of the leading weekly papers as offering suggestions for the improvement of education in our own day. It is of such interest and importance that later on in this volume some space will be devoted to its consideration. Suffice it here to say that the author of such a proposal must of necessity have been a man of learning and culture.

It is a matter of regret that nothing more definite can be ascertained about Gilbert's boyhood and schooldays, nor how his uncle, Philip Penkevell, exercised his guardianship.

We gather from the document referred to above, that he had a profound contempt for guardians under the law, who brought up their wards "in idleness and lascivious pastimes, . . . obscurely drowned in education, of purpose to debase their minds, lest, being better qualified, they should disdain to stoop to the marriage of such purchasers' (guardians') daughters."

The lot of the schoolboy of this period, "with his satchel and shining morning face," was not a happy one. No wonder he crept "like snail unwillingly to school." It is recorded of Humphrey Gilbert's cousin, Sir Peter Carew, that being a turbulent boy, he was chained up in the school-house yard like a dog, but that he broke his chain and ran away.

The inculcation of learning was particularly strenu-

ous at Eton. The oft-quoted experiences of Thomas Tusser are a case in point. He was first a chorister at St. Paul's, went to Eton about 1540, and afterwards to Cambridge. He took to farming and recorded his experiences in *The Hundred Goode Pointes of Husbandrie* (1557), and then blossomed out as a poet. Of his schooldays he says—

“From Paul's I went, to Eton Sent,
To learn straightways, the Latin phrase,
When fifty three stripes given to me,
At once I had
For fault so small, or none at all,
It came to pass, thus beat I was.”

As it was before, so it was after Gilbert's time at Eton. In 1563, a number of scholars were driven by ill-treatment to run away; occasioning the good old Ascham to write his *Scholemaster*, urging gentler and more attractive methods of imparting knowledge. Humphrey Gilbert's experiences at Eton were not likely to have been of a very pleasant description.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

COMPTON CASTLE

From Cassell's *Gazetteer of Great Britain and Ireland*,
1893.

“Compton Castle, ancient manor house, E. Dev. 3 w. of Torquay. The castle is a very fine example of a fortified dwelling of the early part of the 15th cent. The buildings originally enclosed a quadrangle, and were surrounded by a wall twenty feet in height which remains almost intact. The tower at one angle was

originally one of four; near it may be seen the postern gate, which had a portcullis. The chapel, which is well preserved, has a plain vault with a room over it apparently intended for the priest; two squints afford four views of the altar from adjoining rooms. The fortification displays a striking peculiarity, viz. the numerous machicolated bartizans which, in the absence of a moat, protect the approach to the castle. At the back there are the remains of the old-fashioned garden. The building is now used as a farmhouse."

COMPTON CASTLE

From *The Panorama of Torquay*, by Octavian Blewitt, London, 1832.

"... It is remarkable that so little is known about this ancient structure. It is by far the most interesting fortified mansion in the west of England, although we really know nothing more respecting it than the possessor's names. We have, indeed, little besides some scanty information relative to the manorial lords,—but we trust some able person will, ere long, consult the public records and throw more light on its history. A part of the mansion has been modernized and is now occupied. The north front with its embattled tower and ancient gateway, and the broken windows of the chapel adjoining must engage the attention of every visitor: and the dilapidated walls look venerably grand in the sombre garb of ivy which entwines them. In the floor of the room over the gateway is an oblong opening of some size, used probably for concealing plate and other treasures. There is also a subterranean passage for a short way pointing to Berry Pomeroy. A local tradition mentions, we believe, that this communicated with Apton in the same parish.

"The brief history of the manor of Compton is as follows: At the time of Domesday Survey it was held by Stephen under Juhel de Tolnais; its ancient name was *Contune*. Osolf possessed it in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and in the time of Henry II it was in the hands of Maurice de Pola . . . ancestor of . . . Sir William Pole . . . hence Compton was designated Compton Pole. . . . Lady Alice de Pola gave the manor to the Comptons, in whose possession it remained for seven descents; a co-heiress of the Comptons, by marriage with the Gilberts, brought it in the reign of Edward II into the family of Sir Humphrey Gilbert."

GREENWAY

From *Panorama of Torquay*, by. O. Blewitt, p. 150.

"After leaving Dartmouth . . . we . . . soon pass on the right the bathing and boathouse attached to the Greenway estate. The river now turns at a right-angle and forms the bay of Greenway, which, from many parts, resembles a lake of great beauty. The Dart in one creek of this bay approaches Torquay by little more than a mile. Greenway, late the residence of Edward Marwood Elton, Esq., is romantically situated on the projecting neck of land on the east bank. It is embosomed in wood, and the estate commands some of the most enchanting scenery on the river. On the left we notice Dittisham Parsonage, delightfully situated on a rising ground; and a little beyond, the church and cottages of the little village, which is one of the most picturesque objects on the Dart. The country around is richly wooded, and the village is almost hid among the trees. . . . The scenery of this part of the Dart is unequalled either in richness or beauty. From Dittisham



GREENWAY ON THE DART, PRESENT DAY.

on the left and Greenway on the right shore to the point where the river again contracts, the grandeur of the stream strikes every tourist; the picturesque inequality of the ground on either side adds much to its effect, and the plantations which adorn each slope recline even to the water's edge."

CHAPTER II

HIS INTRODUCTION AT COURT AND FIRST MILITARY SERVICE

1555-1562

THE years 1554-5, indicated by Gilbert as the date of his entry into Elizabeth's service, were a trying period for the young Princess. It was the time of Wyatt's rebellion, and every effort had been made to draw Elizabeth into the plot. Letters, written to her by the King of France, offering the protection and shelter of his Court, were intercepted, and her strongest protestations hardly saved her from the charge of complicity in the proposal. It was a case of "save me from my friends," and Elizabeth displayed great firmness of character when, thus young and thus tempted, she contrived to walk circumspectly, and to keep herself clear of any act which could be construed into treason by her watchful enemies. It is now generally conceded by historians that she was cognizant of all that was being done, and that Mary's anger against her was quite justified. She was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower on March 18, 1554. Renaud, the Spanish Ambassador, and Bishop Gardiner openly urged that she should be put to death. "There would be no peace in England so long as she was alive," they said. For some time she was in great danger. The unfortunate Wyatt had been tortured into an admission that Elizabeth had shared in the plot, a statement which he afterward retracted when brought to the block. She was kept in the closest confinement, and none of her attendants were allowed to be with her. Several of the gentlemen of her household were imprisoned in the Tower at the same time, and were even

tortured in the attempt to make them give evidence against her. On one occasion, when Mary happened to be ill, Gardiner actually made out a warrant for her execution, and she was only saved by the refusal of the Lieutenant of the Tower to recognize the document which did not have the Queen's signature.

In spite, however, of the indiscretions of her friends and the machinations of her enemies, it was found impossible to implicate her, and in May she was released from the Tower and sent to Woodstock. None of her devoted band of attendants were permitted to accompany her; the touching incident is related, however, that they waited along the roadside to greet her as she passed. In April 1555, Mary so far relented as to send for Elizabeth to join her at Hampton Court. On the way thither she was again met by the gentlemen and yeomen of her household to the number of sixty, but none were allowed to approach her.

It was not until October 1555, that Elizabeth was entirely freed from suspicion and permitted to return to Hatfield, to resume once more the dignity of a Princess of the blood royal. She at once sent for all her old servants, and chief among them her old governess, Mrs. Katherine Ashley. As her relations with Mrs. Ashley, and through her to Humphrey Gilbert, have a considerable bearing upon his after history, it is necessary to describe them somewhat in detail.

Katherine Ashley was by birth a Champernoun, probably an aunt of Katherine Gilbert, but it has been impossible to trace the exact relationship; her husband, William Ashley, was a near relation of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn. It was a curious trait in Elizabeth's character that she was never known to mention her mother's name, although for her mother's relations she always showed great solicitude.

When Elizabeth was quite a child Mrs. Ashley was appointed to the trusted position of governess, and in that capacity gained Elizabeth's life-long regard, in

spite of the fact that by her intriguing disposition she on several occasions brought danger and trouble to her royal charge. The date at which Mrs. Ashley assumed the guardianship of Elizabeth has not been ascertained, but it was certainly before the death of Henry VIII on January 30, 1547. A letter of about this date from Roger Ascham to Mrs. Ashley, or Astley, as he calls her, possesses some interest.

"Gentle Mrs. Astley. Would God my wit wist what words would express the thanks you have deserved of all true English hearts, for that noble imp (Elizabeth) by your labor and wisdom now flourishing in all goodly godliness, the fruit whereof doth even now redound to her Grace's high honour and profit.

"I wish her Grace to come to that end in perfectness and likelihood of her wit, and painfulness in her study, true trade of her teaching, which your diligent overseeing doth most constantly promise. And although this one thing be sufficient for me to love you, yet the knot which hath knit Mr. Astley and you together, doth so bind me also to you, that if my ability would match my good will you should find no friend faster. He is a man I loved for his virtue before I knew him through acquaintance, whose friendship I account among my chief gains gotten at Court. . . .

"My good will hath sent you this pen of silver for a token. Good Mistress, I would have you in any case to labour and not to give yourself to ease. I wish all increase of virtue and honour to that my good lady (Elizabeth) whose wit, good Mrs. Astley, I beseech you somewhat favour. . . . I send my lady Elizabeth her pen, an Italian book, and a book of prayers. Send the silver pen which is broken and it shall be mended quickly. Your ever obliged friend, Roger Ascham.

"To his very loving friend Mrs. Astley."

It was about this time that Ascham became Eliza-

beth's tutor, very possibly obtaining that position through the interest of Mr. and Mrs. Ashley.

Immediately after the death of Henry VIII, Lord Thomas Seymour made a proposal of marriage to the Princess Elizabeth, but was refused by that wise young person. He then married Katherine Parr, Henry VIII's widow, and the Princess Elizabeth resided with them. While there she was the object of attentions from Seymour which were decidedly unseemly, to say the least. Katherine Parr died in 1548, and Seymour at once renewed his suit to Elizabeth, and apparently received considerable assistance in furthering the same from Mrs. Ashley. When the Council discovered the intrigue Seymour was arrested, and also Mrs. Ashley, and Parry, the Princess's cofferer, another most devoted retainer. For some time no information could be obtained from them, and it was suspected that they had been sworn to silence by Elizabeth; but, under compulsion, they at length admitted that they knew of the Admiral's suit and had used their influence with Elizabeth in his favour. Mrs. Ashley made some very damaging admissions as to the conduct of the Admiral to the girl Princess, who was then but fifteen years old. But even thus young, Elizabeth gave evidence of that wonderful talent for diplomacy, which was later to conduct England to the highest place among European nations, and absolved herself from any complicity in the designs of Seymour. A letter she wrote at this time to the Lord Protector Somerset has greatly puzzled historians. Mrs. Ashley had been deprived of her post of governess, having shown herself "unmeet to occupy any such place," and was succeeded by Lady Tyrwhitt. Elizabeth was much put out, and wrote as follows to Somerset—

"Hatfield, March 7, 1549.

"My Lord. I have a request to make unto your Grace, which fear has made me omit till this time . . .

peradventure your Lordship and the rest of the Council will think that I favour her evil doing, for whom I shall speak, which is Kateryn Ashley that it would please your Grace and the rest of the Council to be good unto her. Which thing I do, not to favour her in any evil (for that I would be sorry to do) but for these considerations that follow. . . . First because she has been with me a long time, and many years, and hath taken great labour and pain in bringing me up in learning and honesty; and therefore I ought of very duty speak for her. . . . The second is because I think that whatsoever she hath done in my Lord Admiral's matter, as concerning the marrying of me, she did it because knowing him to be one of the Council, she thought he would not go about any such thing without the Council's consent thereto. . . . The third cause is because that it shall and doth make men think, that I am not clear of the deed myself (but that it is pardoned to me because of my youth) because that she I love so well is in such a place. . . . Written in haste from Hatfield, this Seventh day of March. Also if I may be so bold, not offending, I beseech your Grace and the rest of the Council to be good to Master Ashley, her husband, which because he is my kinsman, I would be glad he should do well. Your assured friend, to my little power, Elizabeth."

If she had been entirely innocent would she not have been glad to see Mr Ashley punished? Or did she fear further and more compromising confessions, and endeavour to purchase Mrs. Ashley's silence by her intercession? Was it because she saw that if Mrs. Ashley were kept in prison it in a measure implicated her, as showing that there had been improper conduct and plotting? Or did the poor child cling to the woman who had for so long been a mother to her, and act simply from motives of pure affection? But whatever the facts, Elizabeth continued to protect the Ashleys for the rest of their lives, always keeping Kat Ashley, as

she familiarly termed her, in close personal attendance. Once again, in 1556, Mrs. Ashley was suddenly arrested and kept in prison for some months, for what reason, except that of being Elizabeth's devoted attendant, is not known. Her passion for intrigue continued, nevertheless, and we hear of her afterwards taking part in Elizabeth's many tangled love affairs. When Mrs. Ashley lay on her deathbed in 1565, Elizabeth continually visited her; and when she died, mourned her sincerely and unaffectedly.

Mrs. Ashley was, therefore, a person of very considerable influence with Elizabeth. Hooker tells us that after young Humphrey was, "as his friends thought, very well furnisht, they would have put him to the Inns of Court. But an aunt of his, Mistress Ashley, after she saw the young gentleman and had some conference with him, fell in such liking with him that she preferred him to the Queen's service; and such was his countenance, forwardnesse and good behaviour that Hir Majestie had a special good liking to him, and verie oftentimes would familiarlie discourse and confer with him in matters of learning."

It seems most probable that this occurred about October 1555, when Elizabeth returned to Hatfield,—a date which agrees very closely with that indicated by Gilbert as the beginning of his service at Court. At his age the office could only have been that of a page, and at that period the Princess Elizabeth required service of no other description. The habit of personal loyalty and devotion to his Queen, begun thus early, remained with Gilbert throughout his life.

Elizabeth spent much of her time at Hatfield in study under Roger Ascham, to such good purpose that he continually held her up as an example to the male youth of England. "It is to your shame, young Gentlemen of England, that one maid should go beyond you all in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tongues." Seeing the close friendship of Ascham with

the Ashleys, it is not unlikely that young Humphrey may also have received the benefit of instruction from that wisest of schoolmasters, and have imbibed from him that interest in learning which he afterwards displayed.

It has been stated above that it has been impossible to find out when Gilbert was at Oxford. He was only fifteen years of age in 1554, and could hardly have gone there prior to that date, and after October 1555 he was in the household of the Princess.

One authority states that "such onely went to Universities, who prove most ingenuous and towardly, and who in love of learning will begin to take paines of themselves, having attained in some sorte the former partes of learning; being good grammarians at least, able to understand, write and speak Latin in good sorte. Such as have good discretion how to governe themselves there and to moderate their expenses; which is seldom times before fifteen years of age; which is also the youngest age admitted by the statutes of the University as I take it." But when we are informed that the students were forbidden to play marbles, we conclude that many of them were mere youngsters.

At this period Oxford was again the centre of Catholicism and was the scene chosen for the martyrdoms of Latimer and Ridley in 1555, and of Cranmer in 1556. As Gilbert's connections were all Protestants it is possible that he may have been removed from Oxford on account of religion, and have been placed with his aunt, Mrs. Ashley, in the comparative safety of Elizabeth's Court. Elizabeth "trimmed her sails" at this time, to quote old Camden, and outwardly at least professed Roman Catholicism, but Mrs. Ashley was always known to be a Protestant. When she was arrested in June 1556, sundry "scandalous books against the religion and the King and Queen" were found in her possession; when she was set at liberty some months afterwards she was deprived of her office of governess and forbidden ever again to go to Elizabeth. Whether

this prohibition continued during the short remaining period of Mary's life has not been ascertained.

If young Humphrey Gilbert remained in Elizabeth's household he would have participated in the brave show made by Elizabeth, when on "the 28th of November, came riding through Smithfield and Old Bailey and through Fleet Street unto Somerset Place, my good lady Elizabeth's Grace, the Queen's sister, with a great company of velvet coats and chains, her Grace's gentlemen, and after, a great company of her men, all in red coats, guarded with a broad guard of black and cuts" (slashes). But after five days' visit only, she "rode bravely back again" to Hatfield. During 1557, Elizabeth made several state visits to Mary, always attended by a noble company of lords and gentlemen. The anxiety to worship at the shrine of the rising star was a source of great embarrassment to Elizabeth, for she had to be most careful not to arouse the jealousy of the unhappy, dying Mary, while at the same time it was necessary for her to maintain her popularity. "There is not a lord or gentleman in the realm who has not sought to place himself, or a brother, or a son, in her service," writes the Venetian Ambassador. Sir Thomas Pope, who was now entrusted with the safe keeping of Elizabeth, was a most amiable guardian, and did all he could to amuse and entertain his royal charge. Pageants and plays and hunting parties were arranged for her. On one of the latter occasions she was accompanied by "twelve ladies clothed in white satin on ambling palfreys, and twenty yeomen in green, all on horseback. On entering the forest she was met by fifty archers in scarlet boots with yellow caps armed with gilded bows; one of whom presented her with a silver-headed arrow winged with peacocks' feathers. At the close of the sport, her Grace was gratified with the privilege of cutting the buck's throat."

After her many vicissitudes Elizabeth at length began to enjoy the state and royal pleasures of a Princess;

and her retinue, doubtless to the youngest page, shared her gaiety, with the expectancy of favours to come to increase their joy.

It must be again noted that we have only Gilbert's own statements as evidence of his service at the Princess Elizabeth's Court, for his name is not mentioned in the lists of her attendants at that time. Presumably he continued to form one of Elizabeth's retinue until he reached man's estate and was able to take up his chosen profession of arms.

When in 1582, Raleigh's star first swam into the firmament of Elizabeth's Court, she thus worded the warrant appointing him a Captain in Ireland:—

"But chiefly Our pleasure is to have our servant Walter Rawley trained some time longer in that Our Realme, for his better experience in martial affairs, and for the especial care We have to do him good, in respect to his kindred that have served Us, some of them (as you know) near about Our Person; these are to require you that the leading of the said band may be committed to the said Rawley," etc.

"His kindred" referred to were doubtless Mrs. Ashley and Humphrey Gilbert, but as Mrs. Ashley had been dead some seventeen years, one rather questions the validity of the excuse so far as she was concerned. Humphrey Gilbert, as we shall learn, continued to serve his Queen all his life long.

As usual, Raleigh's introduction at Court also has been ascribed by his biographers to Mrs. Ashley; one of the latest says: "The Queen had heard of Humphrey Gilbert's nephew (*sic* half-brother) from Humphrey Gilbert's aunt, one of her intimate attendant women." That Mrs. Ashley, who died in 1565, should have told the Queen about her young nephew is not impossible, but that the Queen should have treasured the memory for nearly seventeen years is truly wonderful!

John Stow, that "paineful writer of English chronicles," says: "Sir Humphrey Gilbert first got his

reputation at New Haven, where he served with great commendation." The *occupation* of New Haven occurred in 1562-3; Gilbert was therefore twenty-three years of age when he first saw active service. A religious war had broken out in France. The Catholic party, led by the Guises, were in the ascendancy, held Paris, and were supported by Catherine de Medici and the young King. The Protestants were led by the Prince of Condé, the brave old Admiral Coligny, the Vidame de Chartres and the Count of Montgomerie. The war centred around the sea-port towns on the Channel. Montgomerie was in command at Rouen, and the Vidame de Chartres at New Haven (Havre de Grace), and both places were closely besieged by the Guises. Frantic appeals for help were made to Queen Elizabeth in the name of the Reformed religion; but she remained callous, until the offer was made to deliver to her the town of New Haven until such time as Calais was again restored to England. The loss of Calais still rankled deeply, and both Queen and people were eager to avail themselves of any chance to regain it. Besides, the triumph of the Catholic faction, and possible peace with Spain, would have been a serious menace to England, and the astute Cecil strongly urged the Queen to accept the proposal of the French Protestants. True to her avaricious nature she drove a hard bargain, and had New Haven positively secured to her in return for a loan of 100,000 crowns and the support of 6000 troops. Half of the troops were to hold New Haven, and half to be employed in the defence of Rouen and Dieppe. Their value to the Huguenots was materially lessened, however, by the strict instructions they had received not to take the open field, but to fortify and hold the hostage towns. The Huguenot leaders in vain protested, and pointed out that unless they received more active assistance they would be unable to maintain the fight, and the English troops would be then driven from France. This was exactly what happened in the end. Rouen and

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Dieppe were taken by the Guises, Coligny was taken prisoner, and Condé, being practically left alone in the field, made peace with the Guises and combined with them to drive the English out of the country. Notice was sent to Warwick, that the war being over he was expected at once to withdraw his troops. But, as the main object of the English had been to regain a footing in France, they saw no reason for giving up their position so easily.

It being soon discovered that the French townspeople of New Haven were plotting to deliver the town to the besiegers, all of them, men, women and children, were bundled out of city limits, and the English troops remained to fight it out alone. They were confident of being able to hold their position, and promised to spend their last drop of blood before a French foot should re-enter the place. But a deadlier foe than the French attacked the beleaguered city. The dreaded plague made its appearance there, and the English troops died like flies. In spite of continual reinforcements, it was seen that to continue to hold it would mean a terrible loss of life, and Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who commanded the English forces, therefore capitulated on July 28, 1563, withdrawing with all the honours of war. The miserable remnants of the troops which returned to England were in terrible plight, and Elizabeth, although deeply chagrined at the loss of New Haven, was more than usually solicitous for their welfare. When ordering succour to be sent to them she made excuses for their defeat, saying, "they would have withstood the French to the utmost of their lives; but it was thought the part of Christian wisdom not to tempt the Almighty to contend with the inevitable mortal enemy of the plague." A mortal enemy it proved, for tens of thousands of people died from the plague thus introduced into England.

Such are the main features of the war in which Humphrey Gilbert was first engaged. Naturally the





PLAN OF NEW HAVEN, 1562.

From a contemporary Manuscript in the British Museum.

exploits of such a youthful combatant were not likely to be fully chronicled. In addition to the quotation already given, however, Stow informs us that in an encounter on June 5, 1563, Captain Jelbert was wounded. The *Dictionary of National Biography* states that this occurred on September 26, 1563, "fighting against the French Catholics"; but, as we have seen, the English troops had been withdrawn at the end of July, and peace reigned in France at that date. Among the English troops the West Countrymen held a prominent place, and were among the first to reach the scene of war. Tremayne, Strangeways, Kelligrews, Champernoun are among the names mentioned, and with them doubtless went young Humphrey Gilbert, eager to win his spurs. As has been already mentioned, Gawen Champernoun married the daughter of County Montgomerie, but whether the marriage had previously taken place, or was a romantic sequel to the New Haven campaign, has not been ascertained. In either case, Gilbert would have acquired a personal interest in the war, in addition to the desire to serve his Queen, and to assist the French Protestants.

CHAPTER III

HUMPHREY GILBERT IN IRELAND

ONE would like to be able to eliminate this next chapter from the history of Humphrey Gilbert. Fate took him to that distressful country—Ireland, and the record of his exploits there will be found revolting to our modern ideas. We have become tender-hearted in these later days, and conduct our wars with a minimum of brutality; war is confined to the fighting man, and non-combatants are protected with solicitude. We have the spectacle of England, in her latest war, supporting a whole multitude of women and children while their fathers and husbands were in arms against her. In the days of Elizabeth these women and children would have been left to perish, if not, indeed, immediately put to the sword. Then, a conquered country was laid waste "with fire and sword," and the enemy was extirpated "root and branch." That such was the plan of campaign in Ireland, and that Gilbert was an unhappy agent in its execution, must not, therefore, be attributed to any specially bloodthirsty proclivities on his part, but rather to the custom of the age.

We first hear of Humphrey Gilbert in Ireland under Sir Henry Sidney in 1566. Sidney was Lord President of Wales when he received the appointment to this command,—an honour thrust upon him in spite of his protests. He had had previous experience in Ireland, under Sussex, and knew it to have been the grave of many reputations. Besides he felt that his purse could not bear the strain that a military command under Elizabeth entailed, for she had the pleasant habit of leaving her commanders, both on sea and land, to pay their

own troops. Sidney saw beggary, with a further prospect of disgrace, as a consequence of his new appointment, and struggled to get himself relieved, but without avail. At length, in December 1565, he unwillingly took his departure to his new command, first stipulating that he was to be provided with such troops, money, and supplies as he should find necessary for the task which had been set him.

The account given by him of the condition of the country on his arrival there marks that period as the most distressing in Ireland's sad history. Sidney's predecessor, Sussex, had left affairs in a terrible state, and the feuds between the Butlers and the Geraldines completed the ruin. The Emerald Isle was a blackened desert. Of Munster, he wrote:—

"A man might ride twenty or thirty miles nor ever find a house standing, and the miserable poor were brought to such wretchedness that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spoke like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy when they could find them; yea they did eat one another soon after, inasmuch as the very carcasses they spared not to drag out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for a time. Yet were they not at all long to continue therewithal, so that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country was suddenly left void of man and beast; yet surely in all that war there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of the famine which they themselves had wrought."

Of the English garrison within the Pale, Sidney wrote in almost equally disparaging terms; half clad, unpaid, and without a proper supply of provisions, they were forced to pillage the surrounding country in order to

sustain their lives. "The soldiers were worse than the people," wrote Sidney, "so beggarlike that it would abhor a general to look at them." With such an army and such an enemy, in so destitute a country, there could be none of the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war." The campaign was bound to become sordid and brutal.

The immediate cause of the present outbreak was the rebellion of Shan O'Neil. This turbulent chief had visited London in 1562, his entry thereto being thus described by Camden: "He was accompanied by a guard of galloglasses armed with hatchets, all bare-headed, their hair flowing in locks upon their shoulders, on which were yellow surplices dyed with saffron, with long sleeves, short coats and thrum jackets, which caused as much staring and gaping as if they had come from China or America." There he vowed allegiance to Elizabeth, but returning to Ireland he broke his vows, declaring that they had been extorted from him. The explanation he gave of the affair is very plausible, and one cannot help feeling some sympathy for him, black-guard as he undoubtedly was. "When I was with the Queen, she said to me herself that I had, it was true, safe conduct to come and go, but it was not said when I might go; they kept me there until I had agreed to things so far against my honour and profit that I would never perform them while I live. . . . Ulster is mine and shall be mine."

To "extirpate this proud rebel" was the first task of Sir Henry Sidney, but it could not be undertaken until he was furnished with the men and money which had been promised him when he unwillingly accepted the appointment. Again and again he wrote, asking that this undertaking should be fulfilled, or that he should be immediately recalled; he even tried to bribe Cecil to effect this—"I will give you all my land in Rutlandshire to get me leave to go into Hungary, and think myself bound to you while I live. I take my leave in

haste, as a thrall forced to live in loathsomeness." It was estimated that £36,000 were required to pay the arrears due to the army, and to provide the necessary additional troops and arms; but to part with such a sum tore at Elizabeth's heartstrings, and she insisted that the reinforcements should be greatly reduced. It was July 1566, before the troops for this service, under Colonel Edward Randolphe, assembled at Bristol, and departed for Lough Foyle, Captain Gilbert commanding a company of his own fellow-countrymen from Devon.

Randolphe landed at Derry, and fortified himself securely there while waiting for Sidney, who was not able to join him until October 12. Leaving Randolphe in camp, Sidney made a short but most successful campaign into Shan's territory, and then retired again to headquarters at Drogheda. Shan then took the initiative, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the camp at Derry with all his men, intending to attack it. But Randolphe moved out of camp and took him by surprise near Lough Foyle, inflicting upon him the most severe defeat that the Irish had ever suffered at the hands of the English. In the pursuit of the flying rebels Randolphe was slain by a chance bullet. Captain Gilbert participated in this encounter, and as soon as it was over proceeded to Sidney at Drogheda to make a report. Sidney at once (October 12) sent him with dispatches for Elizabeth, informing her of the situation, and saying that the bearer, Captain Gilbert, would relate all that befell in Colonel Randolphe's late encounter with the rebels.

He had been in Ireland but four months, and there does not seem to have been sufficient reasons of State to occasion Sidney to send him so soon back to England. Neither the dispatches nor the news he carried were of such paramount importance as to require a messenger of his calibre; and we are therefore obliged to conclude that he had obtained leave of absence from the army to

return to England for some private purpose of his own, and that Sidney merely took advantage of his departure to send dispatches to the Queen.

What Gilbert's design was in obtaining leave he very soon disclosed. An idea long brooding in his mind had begun to take shape, an idea which was to be pregnant with vast consequences to the English nation, the possibility of finding a passage to Cathay by the north-west.

An endeavour will be made in a subsequent chapter to trace the associations which caused Gilbert's mind to turn in this direction, and how the idea developed into a full-blown scheme of colonization; but here it must suffice to say, that immediately upon his return to England, he presented a petition to Elizabeth for assistance "to enterprise and give the attempt with all possible speed for the discovery of a passage to Cathay . . . which taking good success shall be great honour and strength to your Majesty, with immortal fame throughout the world." But Elizabeth failed to be impressed by the flattering prospect held out to her, and dispatched him back to Ireland soon after, charged with the execution of a design of which she herself at the time was quite obsessed.

The idea had been evolved,—whether by Elizabeth herself, or Humphrey Gilbert, or his West Country friends, cannot now be determined,—to plant an English colony in Ulster. But wherever the idea originated, Elizabeth saw in Humphrey Gilbert the man best fitted to carry out the enterprise. A trusted servant, a soldier of distinction, a man of great influence among the West Countrymen, having already some experience in Ireland. Fate had sent him to her just at the crucial moment, and his own great designs were ruthlessly set aside, in order that this scheme, fraught with woe for Ireland, should be attempted.

In the meanwhile, many of Gilbert's company left by him in Ireland are reported "to have run away without

licence or passport." As they had come most of them from Devon, it was surmised that they would make their way there, when they were to be arrested and sent back to their duty.

Elizabeth wrote to Sidney on April 3, 1567, that "the English were to be allured to plant in Ulster," and on the 25th of the same month she directed that £100 was to be paid to Gilbert, "he being sent to Ireland on special service." He was authorized to press men in Chester or elsewhere who were willing to go with him.

Writing to Sidney on June 11, Elizabeth acknowledged his letter asking for further particulars of the plan, but declared that she could only "generally confirm our fond determination that we do earnestly meane the same," and could not supply any further information, as it had not been determined how many settlers were needed, nor the cost of maintenance, nor the revenue to be expected. "But," she added, "this we think to give ease to your desire and to make you the principal Mynister for the execution of the same, for the furdurance whereof we think it good ye do confere with our servant Gilbert now presently there, who as we know knoweth the meaning of sundry gentlemen of good accompt in his country that presently are gyven to be at charge with our assent to levy good numbers of men to repayre thither to those parts of Ireland there to serve us, and to take possession of some partes of landes there . . . yeilding to us both due obedience and reasonable yeerly revenue." On July 6, she wrote again, giving further particulars, and informed Sidney that "Our servant, Humfry Gilbert, is instructed from certain gents in the west parts here to deale with you in this behalf, which you shall best know of himself if he have not already imparted it to you." A suggestion was made by Vice-Chamberlain Knollys at the same time, that Gilbert should be made President of the Colony in Ulster, if he and his friends succeeded in establishing himself there.

Very soon after Gilbert's return to Ireland Sir Arthur Champernown, his uncle, went over to confer with him about the plantation, bearing also letters from Cecil to Sidney urging the furtherance of the scheme. But for some reason not now ascertainable, the design of colonizing Ulster was abandoned for a time.

This was not due to lack of ardour on Gilbert's part, for he appears to have taken up the idea with some zeal. Early in 1568, he and some others petitioned the Queen for a grant of all those lands known by the name of Munster. The preamble to the petition begins thus plausibly:—"Sith it seemeth good to the Queen's Majesty to use means to reduce the Realm of Ireland to civility and obedience, it standeth with the duty of good subjects to offer their assistance for the furtherance of the same." They modestly asked for a grant of all the escheated and forfeited lands in Munster, and all the havens and islands lying between Rosse and the Sound of Blaskey, with the prerogative of fishing in the same. They offered to build a town in the haven of Baltymore, and to pay her Majesty rentals for all lands, and £200 for the right of fishing. The profits and commodities to accrue to England were manifold; the rebellious Irish were to be replaced by loyal English citizens; the havens "now enjoyed by Spaniards and French" were to be secured to English fishermen and traders; the number of mariners was thus to be greatly increased; the "noisome number of pirates" who haunted the south coast were to be "discouraged," and finally these havens were to be made the base for attacks on the trade from France, Flanders, Scotland, Spain and Portugal.

Sidney gave his approval to the scheme, but no great progress seems to have been made. In 1569, Sir Peter Carew, Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir Richard Grenville, and many others, having obtained some ancient title deeds to estates in Munster, went there with a number of their retainers, and endeavoured to take possession. This aroused the Irish holders of the property to frenzy,

and they fell upon some of Carew's retainers and massacred them with much brutality. Carew retaliated, and attacking the house of Sir Edward Butler, put every man, woman, and child found within the walls to the sword. All Munster was now in a blaze, and Humphrey Gilbert, now a Colonel, was charged with the task of beating out the flames of rebellion.

Notwithstanding his colonization schemes, he had continued to serve with the army. On December 16, 1567, he had mustered his company at Mullingar, some of whom were "harquebussiers on horseback," for which he received extra pay by special command of the Queen. There are several notices of small actions in which he was engaged during the first half of 1568, but being wounded, or falling ill, he was forced to retire to England. When he was sufficiently recovered to take up his duties again, Elizabeth wrote particularly to Sidney about him. She said:—"Our servant Humfry Gilbert who hath remayned here, as we have perceaved contrary to his own will, from his place of service there, by reason of his dangerous sickness this sommer, whereof being ones recovered he fell into the same again. So as until this present it seemed he could not conveniently depart hence towards his services there. And therefore we would have you to graunt him allowance of such interteynment as pertaineth to his charge and as largely as he should have been alowed if he had been there present all this tyme, which we do more favourably yeld unto him, becaus we judg him a faythful Servant and ocry (?) toward and well able to serve us not only in the place whereof he hath charg, but of somme better, if any such were there mayde, whereunto he might be preferred."

This was unwonted solicitude on the part of Elizabeth.

On July 12, 1569, Gilbert wrote to Cecil from Dublin asking that he be allowed to return to England "for the recovery of his eyes." As to his late services, he would leave them to be reported by others, "as he was

one that served." These reports, if they were ever made, have not, however, come down to us, and we are not aware of what his services at that time particularly consisted.

A few months afterwards, (October 1569), we have a very long and flattering account of the services of Colonel Gilbert from the pen of Captain Ward, who served with him in the pacification (*sic*) of Munster. Gilbert lay with his "horseband" at Limerick, where he was joined by Captain Ward. "On the 23rd of September the Colonel departed with his company and mine to Killmallock, upon credible advertisement that the rebels under James FitzMaurice and McCarthy More would that night come to besiege and burn the town. And indeed they came the next day within half-a-mile of the town with 2000 footmen and near sixty horsemen, meaning to have kept us all within the town and there to have famished us." Captain Ward with his company was given the charge to defend the gates of the town, "while the Colonel mounted himself and his band on horseback, meaning only to sally out and view them; but being in the field they entered into a skirmish, the enemy dividing his forces into two parts, in which skirmish the Colonel himself first charged the galloglasses, at the which charge the Colonel's horse was shot through with a harquebus and hurt with an axe, and his target struck through with a spear. After this some of the Colonel's company uncommanded passed over a ford, whereupon the Colonel with the rest of his company was enforced to follow them for their better direction. They were no sooner over the ford than the rebels with their whole force of horse and foot charged upon them, and they were forced to retire, which through the suddenness of the matter bred such disorder that they had all been distressed, if the Colonel had not most valiantly, being the last man, with his own hands defended the ford against all the enemy whilst all his band passed over. In this charge the Colonel with his own hands did

unhorse two, slew one, and hurt six of them, they being above 20 horsemen which charged upon him, besides certain galloglasses that following his band were between him and them, and yet, by the great blessing of God, he broke through them all and escaped unhurt to the preserving of his whole company saving one man."

The next day Colonel Gilbert started for Cork to join forces with Captain Shute and to bring him with his band to Killmallock, which difficult feat, (the enemy lying between them), he succeeded in accomplishing without the loss of a man. The strain of this exploit threw him into a fever, but immediately upon his recovery, he took the field again, and besieged the important castle Garrystown, "*And God be praised,*" Ward piously exclaims, "within three hours we won it and did put to sword forty persons, the Colonel commanding me under pain of death to put them all to the sword." The effect of this terrible severity was immediate, for following closely upon the enemy "they accounting him more like a devil than a man, and are so afraid of him that they did leave and give up 26 castles. . . . I think they will not defend any castles against him." Many of the principal rebels came in and sued for the Queen's mercy upon their knees, "so that the evil through fear and the good subjects through his courtesy are both brought into such love and fear of him as I think the like was never seen before in so short a time. I assure your Honour that although I knew him to be a valiant and worthy gentleman, yet did I not, nor any one else, think that he would have been half so sufficient as he is for government in place of great charge."

Gilbert also wrote to Cecil on the same day, informing him of his appointment to the command in Munster, which, he stated, was done much against his will, "I making most earnest and humble suit to the contrary, knowing my insufficiencies to be such, both for want of years, experience, and all other virtues necessary for

such an officer. That authority was to me but a sweet poison, that would in the end turn to my confusion and utter discredit, rather than to the increase of my poor reputation. Most humbly desiring your Honour, therefore, to revoke me from hence with expedition lest I should both hinder the Queen's Majesty's service and lose that little credit in a few days which I have all my life travailed for." He urged further, that his eyes were in such a condition, that if not attended to, he was in danger of losing his sight; and concluded his letter with praises of Captains Ward and Shute for their valiant service in the recent campaign.

On December 6 he wrote again, giving full particulars of his manner of dealing with the rebels. From the simple, matter-of-fact manner in which he describes his terrible plan of campaign, we can see that the hideousness of it was not apparent to him. He had been placed in command in Munster with orders to reduce the country to obedience, and unflinching severity seemed to him the best method of accomplishing that purpose. After describing the submission of the Earl of Glencarne and his chief follower, he says:—"But to God's glory be it spake I may now say in respect to my charge, with Hercules, 'Non plus Vetra.' And for that, Right Honourable, it may the better appear what course I have held in these parts, I thought it good to advertise Your Honour particularly thereof, to the end I might try by Your Honour's favourable advice and instructions take such order hereafter therein as may seem best for the well governing of myself and the country, and the furtherance of the Queen's Majesty's service, being hitherto enforced for want of assistance in counsel and experience in politic government, to follow my own simple opinion.

"First, Right Honourable, I refused to parley or to make peace with any rebels, neither have I received any upon protection without his humble submission presently swearing them to be true to the Queen's

Majesty, and taking bonds and pledges of them for keeping of Her Highness peace, never practising directly or indirectly to bring in any rebels, for that I would not have them to think that the Queen's Majesty had more need of their service than they had of her mercy, neither that we were afraid of any number of them our quarrell being good, putting also all those from time to time to the sword that did belong, fed, accompany or maintain any outlaws or traitors. And after my first summoning of any castle or fort, if they would not presently yeild it, I would not afterward take it of their gift but win it per force, how many lives so ever it cost, putting man, woman, and child of them to the sword, neither did I spare any malefactor unexecuted that came to my hands in any respect, using áll those that I had protected with all courtesy and friendship, refusing to take any gift of any man lest my friendship should have been thought more hurtful unto them than my malice, neither did I make strange to infringe the pretended liberties of any city or town incorporate, not knowing their charters, to further the Queen's Majesty's service, answering them that the Prince had a regular and absolute power, and that which might not be done by the one I would do by the other in cases of necessity. Being for my part constantly of this opinion that no conquered nation will ever yeild willingly their obedience for love but rather for fear. Most humbly desiring your Lordship favourably to consider of me and my doings, for that Right Hon. it pleased your Lordship and the Council to leave me in this charge against my will, I having made to Your Honour and the Council most humble and often suit to the contrary, unfolding my own imperfections and want of ability for so great a charge, having put into my hands not only the sword martially, but the whole charge of Munster, being utterly unaccompanied by any lawyers or other for the aiding of me in that behalf, most humbly desiring your Honour presently to revoke

me from hence for that I am overladen and utterly tired, but enforced for want of necessary servants not only to be mine own Secretary, but let myself run to spoil by intollerable expenses every way to my utter undoing if the Queen's Majesty do not favourably consider of me. And so I most humbly commit your Lordship to God.

"From the City of Limerick, December 6th, 1569."

There is no attempt at concealment or palliation about this letter. Gilbert had no misgiving that his conduct would be viewed in any but a favourable light. He took credit to himself for having evolved the plan, and was satisfied at his success; but he was weary of the strain and responsibility of this brutal warfare, and begged to be relieved of his command. Nor did Sidney, nor Cecil, nor the Council see anything unnecessarily cruel about these revolting scenes; Sidney wrote in high praise of his services:—"For the Colonel I cannot say enough. The highways are now made free where no man might travel undespoiled. The gates of the cities and towns are now left open, where before they were continually shut or guarded with armed men. There was none that was a rebel of any force but has submitted himself, entered into bond and delivered hostages, the arch-rebel James FitzMaurice only excepted, who is become a bush-beggar, not having 20 knaves to follow him, and yet this is not the most or the best that he hath done; for the estimation that he hath won to the name of Englishmen there, before almost not known, exceedeth all the rest; for he in battle brake so many of them, where he showed how far our soldiers in valour surpassed these rebels, and he in his own person any man he had. The name of an Englishman is more terrible now to them than the sight of a hundred was before. For all this I had nothing to present him with but the honour of knighthood, which I gave him (Jany. 1st, 1570); for the rest I recommend him to your friendly support."

That such methods of warfare were deemed worthy of

the reward of knighthood indicates the opinion held of them. "For the rest," to quote Sidney, six years afterward he was still trying to collect the sums due to him.

The poet, Thomas Churchyard, in his *Generall Rehersall of Warres*, 1579, gives some terrible, gruesome details of this campaign in Ireland, and also offers some excuses for the harshness of the measures. He relates what we have already heard, that Gilbert always offered the Queen's pardon before attacking any castle or town, and if it were refused, never after gave them another chance, but exterminated them all, male and female, young and old. Churchyard says that this course in the end was merciful, because no one dared to resist him, but "yielded without blows, bloodshed, or loss either to their party or his." "Also it gave him such expedition in his services as that thereby he recovered more Fortes in one daie then by strong hand would have been wonne in a yere, respectyng the smalness of his Companie, and the gayning of time was one of his chiefest cares, bothe because he had no provision of victuales for his people, but pulled it as it were out of the enemies mouth perforce. And also for that, his companie being so small in number, not knowyng how to have supplies, could not leave with the losse of menne to the winnyng of every pettie forte." Further to strike terror into the hearts of these unhappy creatures, "His maner was that the heddes of all those (of what sort soever thei were) which were killed in the daie should be cutte of from their bodies, and brought to the place where he encamped at night, and should there be layd on the grounde by each syde of the waie leadyng into his owne Tente, so that none could come into his Tente for any cause but commonly he must passe through a line of heddes, which he used *ad terrorem*, the dedde feeling nothyng the more paines thereby; and yet did it bryng greater terror to the people, when they sawe the heddes of their dedde fathers, brothers, children, kinsfolk and friends, lye on the ground before their

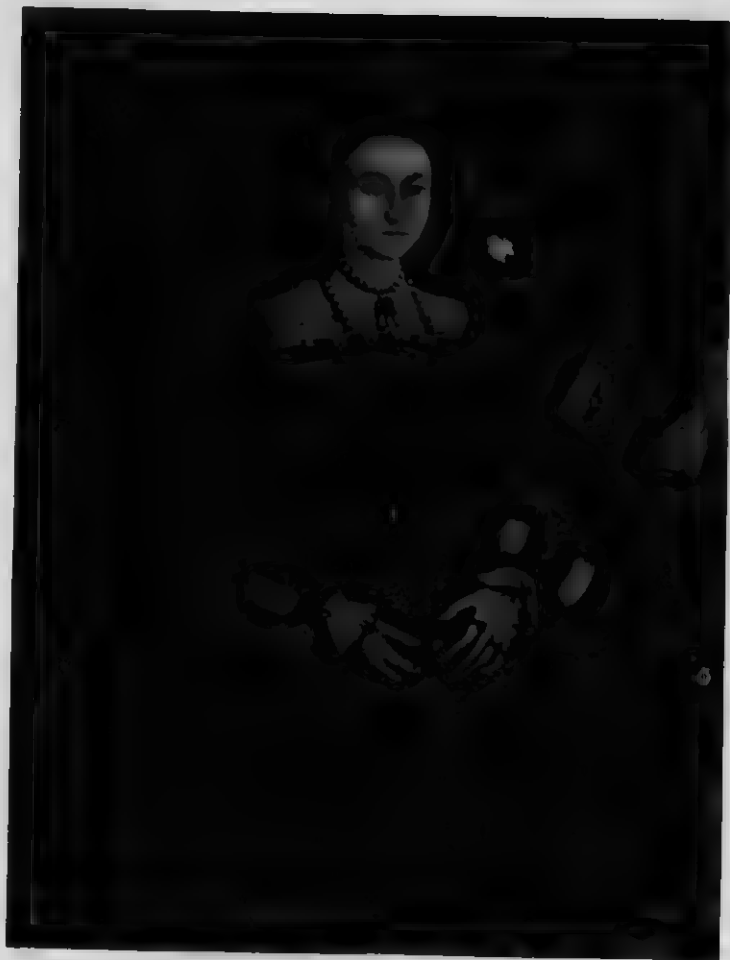
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faces as they came to speake with the saide Colonell. Which course maie by some bee thought to be cruell, in excuse whereof it is answered, That he did but thenne beginne that order with them, *which thei had in effecte ever to fore used toward the Englishe.* And further that he was out of doubte, that the dedde felt no paines by cutting of their heddes according to the example of Diogenes, who being asked by his friends what should be doen wyth hym when he dyed, answered in this sorte. 'Caste me on a dunghill,' saith he, whereunto his friendes replied saying: 'The Dogges will thenne eat you,' his answer thereto was thus, 'Why then set a staffe by me'; Whereunto they answered, 'you shall not feele them,' to whom he again replied with these wordes, 'what neede I then to care?'

"But certainly to this course of government there was much blood saved and great peace ensued in haste. For through the terror the people conceived thereby, it made short warres. For he reformed the whole country of Munster and broughte it into an universall pease and subjection within six weekes."

Churchyard then gives some instances of his personal bravery in the field. At Knockfergus, with 150 footmen, "he withstood 4000 kernes and 600 horsemen of O'nyles companie and then killed and hurt of the enemye about 200." At Kilkenny, he went with thirteen others to view the enemy's position, and finding them in battle array to the number of 1200, did not hesitate to attack them. "In this charge his black curtall horse, whereupon he then served, was verie sore hurt under hym in eight places."

Again at Killmallock on September 13, 1569, he skirmished with his band against about 3000 rebels, holding by himself a ford against thirty horsemen. "Also in this scirmouche his black Curtall horse, of whom I spoke before, was hurte in divers places of the bodie, and was shot through the necke with a Harquebush. And the said Colonell's targette was stricken through with divers



QUEEN ELIZABETH.
From an Early Portrait.

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dartes, besides many blows upon his armour, but in person not hurte. Whereat the Irish wondered so much thei made sondrie songs and Rimes of hym and his black curtall horse, imagining himselfe to have been an enchaunter that no men could hurte, riding on a Devill."

After returning to England, Churchyard says he lived for the most part at Court.

The measures taken by Gilbert achieved their purpose, and Munster was quiet for a time. But allegiance is not won in this manner. No sooner had he retired from the command than James FitzMaurice returned. Immediately all Munster was in rebellion again, and the few Irish who had supported the English were seized and summarily hanged. The Earl of Glencarne, whose submission had been received with so much congratulation, found himself in considerable danger. In a letter to Gilbert, he told him how he had been approached by the Earl of Thomond and induced to join the rebellion, but that he had refused. He begged Gilbert to come again to Munster to keep the peace.

Gilbert, however, had received the leave of absence for which he had pleaded, and left Dublin on January 24, 1570, bearing a letter from Sidney to Sir William Cecil requesting that he should be paid the moneys due him, which letter, however, was of no avail. After a short holiday he returned to Ireland, and we learn from the accounts of his band, continued there at least until March 1571, but nothing of importance is chronicled regarding his actions. We do not know when his service in Ireland actually ceased. He was in England to attend Parliament from April 2 to May 29, 1571; and on July 14, the Queen wrote directing that Sir Humphrey Gilbert should receive his pay, though he had been absent from his charge in Ireland till May Day last, and as he declared large sums to be due him and his band for services in Ireland, £600 was to be paid to him until they had particulars of his account.

His departure from Ireland was a matter of very

general regret, and for many years afterwards his services were referred to in terms of high praise. In 1582, his illustrious half-brother, Raleigh, then serving as a Captain in Munster, where Gilbert had commanded thirteen years before, wrote thus of his services:—"Would God the service of Sir Humphrey Gilbert might be rightly looked into, who with the third part of the garrison now in Ireland ended a rebellion not much inferior to this in two months! Or would God his own behaviour were such in peace as it did not make his good services forgotten, and hold him from the preferment he is worthy of! I take God to witness, I speak it not for affection but to discharge my duty to Her Majesty; for I never heard or read of any man more feared than he is among the Irish nation! And I do assuredly know that the best about the Earl of Desmond, aye, and all the unbridled traitors of those parts, would come in here and yeild themselves to the Queen's mercy were it but known that he were to come among them. The end shall prove this to be true." Raleigh intended to pay a high tribute to the prowess of his elder brother, but from a twentieth-century standpoint it is questionable praise. It was a terrible reputation that he left behind him in Ireland.

One of Humphrey Gilbert's "little bills," which he so long endeavoured to collect, is preserved at the Record Office, and is quite interesting. His pay, if he could have collected it, appears to have been good. As Colonel he received 20 shillings per diem, as Pettit-Captain 8 shillings, and as Captain of Kernes 4 shillings, in all 32 shillings sterling per day. His total expenses for 100 "harquebusiers on horseback" and 200 kernes, for about nine months, appear to have been £3315 7s. sterling, against which he received on account £600.

In 1572, Gilbert again endeavoured to obtain a grant of the south-east coast of Ireland. He drew up a memorandum for Sir John Parrott, describing the

"yncyvyl" condition of Ireland and the advantages that would accrue to England were it made "cyvyl." He lays great stress upon the danger of allowing the French and Spaniards to get a footing there. Already large numbers of Spanish vessels resorted there fishing and trading. Were the coast granted to him as requested, all these irregular proceedings would be stopped, and the Spaniards made to contribute handsomely to Her Majesty's Customs. For his share, like the Newfoundland clergyman described by Sidney Smith, he was "to pocket every tenth fish." Other privileges asked for were, the sole right to trade with the Irish and to work mines, to be admiral of those seas, to receive from Elizabeth a ship of 100 tons to be employed in this service, to have power to apprehend pirates, and to have the grant of all such lands as he should win from the "wild Irish." Poor creatures! they were spared this last spoliation.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE, AND FIRST THOUGHTS OF COLONIZATION

IN studying the lives of great men we are perhaps inclined to be too analytical, too prone to seek for the influences which directed them upon the careers that made them famous. Very often a mere accident marks the turning-point in their lives, and determines their after existence, but in the generality of cases their careers seem to be marked out for them from the beginning, in fact to be almost "hereditary," to quote one of the earliest "furtherers" of English exploration, and no subtle deductions are necessary to account for their actions. Gilbert undoubtedly belongs to the latter class. His boyhood was spent in an atmosphere of adventure by sea, and all his family connections, Champernouns, Carews, Grenvilles, Ruleghs, and Gilberts, had "their business in great waters."

In no part of England was the remarkable uplift and expansion of Elizabeth's reign more noticeable than in the West Country. It was there that the genius of the race found its birth, there that the nation discovered that its destiny lay upon the ocean. From there old William Hawkins, the father of trans-Atlantic trade, made his first West Indian voyages, from there sprang out the bold little ships that laid Spain's Armada low, and placed England first among European nations.

In Gilbert's case, therefore, it would have been more remarkable if he had not adopted the career of explorer and colonizer, and one is only surprised that from the first he did not make the sea the profession of his life. But the interest which his aunt, Mrs. Ashley, could

exercise for him at Court no doubt occasioned his being sent there as offering the best opening, and influenced him to adopt the profession of arms as his chief pursuit. One can easily imagine how the "travellers' tales" of Dartmouth and Plymouth revolved in his mind during his youthful days at Eton and Oxford, and intensified his yearnings for his loved Greenaway; how later the glamour of the sea laid hold of him and would not be denied, and in the midst of the fighting at Newhaven and the brutalities of the Irish rebellion, his mind ever turned to the realms of fable and adventure across the Western ocean.

At Newhaven, or, as it was called by the French, Havre de Grace, he was in the thick of gossip about the New World. Havre had long been the centre of the Huguenot faction,<sup>1</sup> and from there had departed the ill-fated expedition of Villegagnon and his devoted band of enthusiasts, who, driven to desperation by persecutions in the Old World, determined to make a home in the New, where they could worship in peace according to their belief. Again, a few months before the English occupation, Jean Ribault had sailed from Havre with another band of Huguenots intending to found a colony in Florida. We are not concerned with the sad histories of these colonies,—histories which we can be sure formed a constant topic of conversation among the Huguenot townspeople and their English sympathizers. The survivors of the Florida colony landed in England in 1565. One of them, an artist named Le Moyne, settled at Blackfriars and was known to Sidney, Raleigh and doubtless to Gilbert also.

Gilbert would also have met at Havre Richard Eden, whose translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, 1555, was the first publication in England to give any detailed

<sup>1</sup> The principal harbour in Conception Bay, Newfoundland, is called Harbour Grace, being undoubtedly named after Havre de Grace, indicating that fishermen from that town were the first to frequent it regularly.—Havre was built by Francis I about 1520-30.

account of the New World. Eden was secretary to the Vidame de Chartres, and continued in his service for ten years.

A curious document of a later date gives "sundry reports of the country Humphrey Gilbert goeth forth to discover," principally from that prince of romancers, David Ingram, but it also contains a synopsis of the experiences of other travellers and the opinions of geographers. Among those quoted is Andrew Thevett, with whom it is said Gilbert conferred in person. Where and when he met Thevett is unknown, but it is not unlikely that he encountered him also during the siege of Newhaven, and drew knowledge, if not inspiration, from that renowned geographer.

But it is unnecessary to go abroad to seek for associations which might have influenced Humphrey Gilbert to devote himself to maritime discovery; the very air at home was full of it. With Sebastian Cabot's return to England in 1547, there had been an outburst of enthusiasm for mercantile expansion. He was able to tell, not always truthfully it must be admitted, not only of the first great success of English mariners fifty years before, but also of the rapidly growing colonies of Spain.

The career of Sebastian Cabot has been the subject of much heated debate among historians. Between the excessive admiration of the one school and the unqualified condemnation of the other, it is not easy to arrive at a proper appreciation of his character and achievements. The indisputable facts are that he was trusted by both Spain and England with the highest offices in their marine, with Venice, the while, intriguing for his services. When he went to England in 1547, continual representations were made from Spain that he should be returned. We cannot believe that they were all deceived as to his ability and attainments. But withal he was a boaster and a liar, if *contemporary chronicles reported him correctly*; as a leader of men he was a failure, and he was a traitor, or a would-be traitor, to

each country he served. Efforts have been made to minimize the effect of his arrival in England, but the fact remains that new enterprises were very shortly undertaken, in the preparation for, and direction of which, he was actively engaged.

In the search for new marts the far-off Cathay was again considered, and the question of a shorter passage thereto by the north-east or north-west again debated. Cabot pronounced in favour of the former route, and thither accordingly were dispatched two expeditions at the risk and adventure of the revived corporation of Merchant Adventurers; the first under Willoughby in 1553, and the second under Chancellor in 1555. They did not find the north-east passage, but by their means a lucrative trade was opened up with Russia.

In the last year of Edward VI's reign the Merchant Adventurers had been promised exclusive privileges of trade with any countries discovered by them; which promise was confirmed, and the company incorporated, by Mary in 1555, with Sebastian Cabot as Governor of the Company. In November 1566, Elizabeth renewed the grants made by her predecessors, the Company now being called "The Fellowship of English Merchants for the discovery of new trades."

Humphrey Gilbert was a member of this Company, but when he joined it cannot now be ascertained.

It is not impossible even that he may have known "the good old man Master Cabota," although he does not record the fact; but at least he knew many members of the Merchant Adventurers' Company who had been intimately associated with Cabot during the last few years of his life, prominent among whom were Stephen Burrough and Anthony Jenkinson. Cabot's experiences and sayings must have been daily referred to by members of the company, and Gilbert would have thus been *au fait* with all that was known of that first momentous attempt to find China by way of the north-west, and the consequent discovery of the "new lands."

In addition to these ventures in which Gilbert was

pecuniarily interested, his friend and neighbour in the West Country, John Hawkins, had just accomplished two most profitable voyages, slave trading to the Spanish West Indies, which may be said to have aroused the ire of the Spaniards and the cupidity of the English in about equal ratio. The West Country was ablaze with enthusiasm for voyages of discovery. Elizabeth herself became an "adventurer" in several expeditions, and ships of the Royal Navy were freely loaned for the purpose.

Camden gives a spirited account of how "this wise and careful Princess rigged out her fleet with all manner of tacklin and ammunition, built a castle at Upnor for its defence, and augmented the pay of the sailors, so that she was justly called '*the restorer of the naval glory and Queen of the North Sea.*' The wealthier inhabitants of the Seacoast did likewise follow the Queen's example in building ships of war with all cheerfulness, insomuch in a little time the Queen's fleet, in conjunction with her subjects shipping, was so potent, that it was able to furnish out 20,000 fighting men for sea service."

It was undoubtedly a period of great mercantile expansion. Last, but probably not least, there were the numerous yearly fishing voyages made by the humble West Country fishermen to the prolific waters of the new-found land. In our introductory chapter, reasons have been advanced which amount to clear proof that these voyages were common, although quite unrecorded. Gilbert himself furnishes us with further testimony. In his *Discourse of a North-West Passage*, published in 1576, but written ten years before, he quotes the experience "of our yeerly fishers to Labrador and Terra Nova." He knew these fishermen, had questioned them, and learned all they could tell him of the waters they frequented. But no other reference to these voyages can be found. From Hore's voyage in 1536, to Anthony Pankhurst's in 1578, there is no record of any English voyage

to Newfoundland, and it has been the custom to say that the country was therefore abandoned by England, but clearly such was not the case.

There was therefore superabundant reason why Gilbert should desire to emulate his friends, should himself join the search for "Cathay and other unknown rich parts of the world," and also why he should revert to the route first chosen by Englishmen, that by the north-west.

Gilbert was about twenty-four years old when he returned from Newhaven, he was in his twenty-seventh year when he went to Ireland, the interval he devoted to the study of the problem, and embodied the results in a pamphlet which was published ten years later under the title *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia*.

This pamphlet was given to the world, apparently without the consent of the author, by the poet Gascoigne in 1576. The story of its publication will be dealt with more at large in its proper place in this history; at present we are concerned only with its contents.

Gascoigne, in his preface, tells us how it came to be written. Gilbert, with the impetuous ardour of youth, wished to set out at once on this voyage, which promised so much novelty and adventure; but, says Gascoigne, "You must herewith understand (good Reader) that the author havinge a worshippfull knight to his brother, who abashed at this enterprise (as well for that he himself had none issue, nor other heier whome he ment to bestow his landes upon, but onely this authour, and that this voyage seemed stragg and had not been commonly spoken of before, as also because it seemed impossible to the common capacities) did seme partly to dislike his resolutions and to disuade him from the same; therupon he wrote this treatise unto his said brother, both to excuse and cleare himself from the note of rashnesse and also to set down such authorities, reasons and experiences, as had chiefly encouraged him

unto the same, as may appear by the letter next following, the which I have inserted for that purpose."

The letter itself is interesting, not only for the purpose mentioned by Gascoigne, but as an example of Gilbert's epistolary style.

"A LETTER OF SIR HUMFRY GILBERT, KNIGHT, SENT TO HIS BROTHER, SIR JOHN GILBERT, OF COMPTON, IN THE COUNTIE OF DEVON, KNIGHT, CONCERNING THE DISCOURSE OF THIS DISCOVERIE.

"SIR,—

"You might iustly have charged mee with an Vnsettled head if I had at any time taken in hand, to discover *Vtopia*, or any countrey fained by imagination: But *Cataia* is none such, it is a countrey, well knownen to be described and set foorth by all moderne *Geographers*, whose authoritie in this art (contraire to all other) beareth most credit, and the passage thereunto, by the *North-west* from vs, through a sea which lieth on the *Northside* of *Labrador*, mencioned and proved, by no smal number of the most expert, and best learned amongst them. By whose authoritie, if I (amongest others) have beene moved, to hope of that passage, who can iustly blame me? sith everie man is best to be credited and beleaved, in his own professed art and science, wherein he doth most excell.

"And if I would not give that credit to those authours which they deserve, but were so wedded vnto my owne ignorance, that neither the authoritie of learned *Geographers*, the reasons of wise *Philosophers*, nor the experience of painfull *Travellers*, might persuade me to believe a trueth: Then might I iustly be accompted selfe willed (which a learner ought chiefly to eschewe) holding for a *Maxime*, that, *Discentem oportet credere*. And knowing you to be one that may easily be induced to hearken, and yelde to reason, I will briefly open vnto you, some fewe of the grounds of mine opinion, to the

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THE  
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 OF  
 A  
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 WEST  
 PASSAGE  
 TO  
 THE  
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 BY  
 JAMES  
 COOK



MAP ACCOMPANYING "DISCOURSE OF A DISCOVERY OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE."

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ende you may better vnderstād, that my hope of this discoverie and passage was not so rashe, or foolishe, as you hertofore have deemed: but contrariwise, grounded vpon a very sure foundation, and that no Vnadviseedly, but after my long consideration and great conferēce, had with such as I know to be both wise, learned, and of great experience, as well touching this passage, as the wonderfull welth and commodities, which might and would ensue thereby, it being once discovered: whose abundance of riches and treasure, no man of learning, and iudgement doubteth, for that the countreys themselves, and their commodities are apparently knowen by sundry mens experience.

"But as it is one thing to speak, and another by reason to confirme, so I will briefly do my endeavour to prove the same. And have herewith all sent you, for your better vnderstandinge, a rough draught, of a vniversall Map in the end of the booke, sufficiēt to explaine the matter, with those names only in effect which are mencioned in the discourse: to the ende that by resorting to this general Mappe, & finding without difficultie, everie particular place mencioned herein, you may the better gather my meaning, and conceive my reasons alledged for the proove of this passage, nowe in question: which I will prove three way.

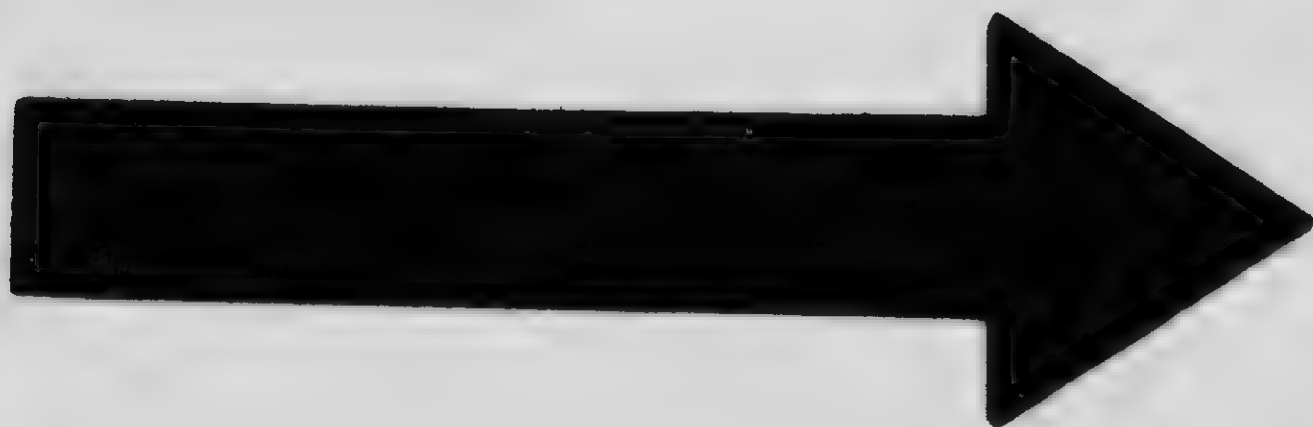
"All which, I have divided into severall chapters, which may fully deliver vnto you the whole contents of this worke, by their severall titles: as followeth.

"Fare you well from my lodging the last of June, Anno D. 1566,

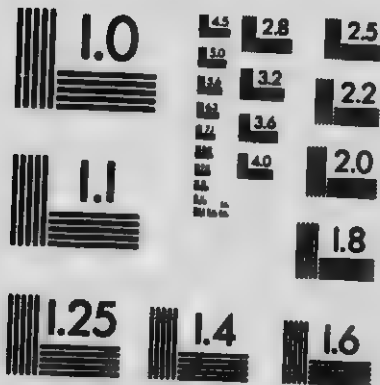
"Your loving Brother,

"HUMFRY GILBERT."

The General Map which accompanies the *Discourse* is, like all maps of the period, of a very crude description. According to M. Henri Harrisse, it bears a strong family likeness to the maps of the Franco-Italian school, such as those of Verrazano and Maggioli.



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It shows Newfoundland (Baccalaos) as a group of islands, and Labrador stretching to the north and east, as it seemed to early navigators to do, owing to the variation of the compass. It also shows Greenland pointing to the westward as the same variation would make it appear to any one approaching from the east. (See *Labrador. Its Discovery, Exploration and Development*, by W. G. Gosling. Aiston Rivers, Ltd., 1910.)

The *Discourse* itself is a remarkable document. Gilbert first endeavoured to prove that America was an island, and ransacked both ancient and modern writers for evidence in support of the theory. Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo are made to yield proof of the contention, and all the modern geographers are quoted, especially Peter Martyr and Ortelius. He argues, with a certain amount of correctness, that Asia and America must be separated because there is such dissimilarity between both the human and animal species of the two continents. He then lays great stress upon the course of the currents; one, which had been correctly observed by Jenkinson, running westward from the north parts of Russia; the other, evidently a confused idea of the Gulf Stream, running northerly along the coast of America, which currents, he argued, must find an outlet on the north coast of America. The experiences of early travellers are next brought to bear, many of them quite fabulous, but all of equal value in his eyes. Sebastian Cabot is particularly quoted, and, as usual, when speaking of this much-debated man, his statements are plainly at variance with fact, and add more confusion to the controversy. We note here a late addition to the *Discourse*, as Gilbert relates a story told him by Salvaterra, a Spanish gentleman, whom he met in Ireland in 1568. At some period Gilbert and Anthony Jenkinson had a dispute before the Queen and Lords on the respective merits of a north-east and north-west passage. The arguments used on both sides are given, but are not very convincing. Gilbert evidently had some knowledge

of the prevailing winds in the North Atlantic in the spring and autumn, for he said one advantage of the North-West Passage was that one could sail thither with the easterly winds and return with the westerly.

The case for the existence of a passage is now considered closed, and he proceeds to dilate upon the advantages to be derived from a trade with China. Quite apart from the riches accruing from the purely mercantile transactions, he points out what a tremendous increase in shipping and mariners must result from this new trade. He then adds a most important suggestion. "Also," he says, "we might inhabit some part of these countreys and settle there such needy people of our country which now trouble the Commonwealth, and through want here at home are inforsed to commit outrageous offences whereby they are dayly consumed of the gallows." In order that a resting-place to and from Cathay may be afforded, he suggests that some convenient port near Sierra Nevada (Hudson's Straits?) should be inhabited. We will have occasion to return to these suggestions again.

If his brother were not convinced by this "Brief and simple discourse written in haste," he would then impart a larger discourse which he had written on the same theme. He also informed his brother that he had been preparing himself to put his schemes into effect, that he had written a discourse on navigation wherein he devised to amend the errors of sea cards, which usually made degrees of longitude of the same size in every latitude; that he had invented a spherical instrument with a compass of variation for the perfect proving of the longitude; had written directions for pricking a sea card, with certain infallible rules for determining upon its first discovery how far a bay or strait stretched into the land.

All knowledge of these so-called inventions has been lost, but whether they added anything of value to the art of navigation of the day or not, they are at least evidence of years of study on his part.

He closes his discourse with the following eloquent peroration, written in that lofty tone which will be often noted in his writings:—"Desiring you hereafter never to mislike with me, for the takinge in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise; for if through pleasure or idlenessse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for ever.

"And therefore to give me leave without offence, always to live and die in this mind. That he is not worthy to live at all, that for fear or danger of death, shunneth his countrey's service and his own honour: seeing death is inevitable and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, Mutare vel timere sperno."

It will be found that in this declaration he was strangely prophetic. Upon it he modelled his life and his death.

This treatise, with its false arguments and false deductions, was yet a remarkable compilation for that time, and had far-reaching effects upon the course of English adventure. It no doubt materially assisted the expeditions of Frobisher in 1576-7-8, and from those voyages proceeded in natural sequence the voyages of Davis, Waymouth, Hall, Knight, Hudson, Button, Gibbons, Bylot, Baffin, Hawkridge, Fox, and James, to name the earlier adventurers only. Having once set themselves to the task of finding of North-West Passage, the English never gave up the search. One expedition after another was prepared, thousands upon thousands of pounds spent, and hundreds of valuable lives lost in this vain pursuit. It was not until 1851, that Collinson and McClure proved that a passage did really exist, and not until 1905, nearly 340 years after Humphrey Gilbert's *Discourse* was written, that the passage was actually accomplished by the Norwegian expedition under the command of Captain Roald Amundsen in the little *Gjoa*.

A recent historian sees in this *Discourse* "the hand of Raleigh." An examination of the facts concerning its

composition shows that it was written when Raleigh was fourteen years old. Similar instances are found at every turn. Many of Raleigh's biographers treat Humphrey Gilbert as the Baconians do Shakespeare,—not a shred of authorship is left to him.

But this unpretentious treatise, written to overcome the embarrassing solicitude of an elder brother, and published surreptitiously, has another and far greater claim to fame; for in it we have in the paragraphs already quoted the first definite proposal to plant an English colony in the New World. The evolution of the colonization idea in Humphrey Gilbert's mind can be plainly discerned henceforward, until in the end we will find that it grew into a vision of an English colony, so complete and well ordered that a hundred years hardly saw its fulfilment. Here, therefore, we have the germ from which sprang the present mighty Empire of the United States and those great colonies which are now the pride of the English race, destined, doubtless, to become themselves powerful world empires.

This is not to say that Humphrey Gilbert originated the idea of colonization in England, but that he first crystallized the indefinite, and made of it a concrete proposition.

The history of the world is a history of colonization enterprises, and the idea was doubtless as familiar in Elizabeth's day as it is in our own. England had experienced colonization at the hands of various invading peoples, beginning with the Romans under Julius Caesar; Rome itself was colonized by a wandering band of exiles, if ancient myths are to be believed, and so on throughout the ages. It is quite unnecessary to point to the example of Spain and France, as some have done, for the origin of the idea in England. France and England arrived at it simultaneously at the colonization period, and succeeded in making permanent settlements within a few years of each other. Spain was their forerunner in the path of colonization, but her action did not

occasion theirs and was by no means the pattern which they followed.

Curiously enough, the question of colonization is raised with the very first mention of the New World to be found in English literature. It is in a quaint little play entitled *A newe Interlude and a mery of the iiij principal points of philosophy*. Only one copy remains, and that not complete, for the colophon has been torn away, and it is therefore impossible to say exactly when it was printed. From internal evidence, however, it has been decided to have been in 1517. The author tells how—

"Within this xx yere  
Westward we found newe landes  
That we never hearde tell of before this."

He bewails the pusillanimity of some English sailors that had prevented them from being further explored, and exclaims—

"O what a thyng a had be than  
Yf they that be English men  
Myght have been the furst of all  
That there should take possessyon,  
And made first buyldyng and habytacion  
A memory perpetuall.  
And also what an honourable thyng  
Both to the realme and the kynge,  
To have had his dominion extendyng  
There into so farre a ground."

The regret here expressed with so much feeling was undoubtedly not the personal opinion of the author only, but would have been the general sentiment of the day, the talk of the street, and was but enunciated in the little play, to be declaimed over and over again in the presence of thousands of people.

But English literature in the first half of the sixteenth century is singularly free from any reference to the founding of colonies, or, as a matter of fact, to the New World at all. England had other affairs of more pressing importance to attend to at that time. Her position

among the nations of Europe had to be assured; and the progress of the Reformation left little room in men's minds for voyages of discovery. It is with nations as with the animal kingdom, maturity has to be attained before the species can be propagated, and England at this period had not reached that age. Her energies had to be conserved for her own growth, the populace had to be retained and not allowed to swell the ranks of other countries. In 1558, Vice-Admiral Martin was stationed in the Channel with a powerful squadron and directed to prevent all persons whatsoever from leaving the kingdom without a licence. Hence we find an Act passed even so late as 1571, authorizing the forfeiture of the lands of any person who should leave the kingdom without the Queen's licence and fail to return after warning had been given to do so. When, at length, colonization schemes were debated, one of the principal objections was that the country would be drained of her needed populace; and when Letters Patent for the purpose were finally granted, special clauses had to be inserted permitting the transport of such of her Majesty's subjects as were willing to go.

England was not then over populated, although, strangely enough, several writers seemed to be of that opinion, and the old simile of the swarming bees cannot be advanced in her case. Nor were her first colonists induced by a desire for religious freedom, as were the two Huguenot attempts at colonization under Villagagnon and Ribaut.

The first English colonists were not driven from their homes by religious persecutions, although we shall hear later of a proposal to plant a colony of English Catholics in America for which Gilbert assigned a portion of the rights granted to him.

Richard Eden, in the preface of his translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, 1555, regrets that such a large portion of America remained unexplored, its opportunities for trade unavailed of, and its inhabitants uncon-

verted. He urged his fellow-countrymen to undertake the glorious work, but does not suggest that it should be done by means of colonization.

A few years later, 1563, that bombastical pirate, Thomas Stukeley ("Lusty Stukeley"), appeared before Elizabeth, and declared his intention of founding a kingdom in Florida, from whence he would write to her, "in the style of one prince to another, as his 'dear sister.'" His real design, however, was very shortly revealed; "the sea was his Florida," for he retired to his old haunts on the south coast of Ireland, and resumed his old trade of piracy. His empty boasting was not taken seriously, and cannot be said to have any historical significance.

In fact, nowhere can there be found a definite genuine proposal to plant an English colony in the New World, until Humphrey Gilbert evolved and propounded the scheme. The idea did not come to him in its entirety at once, but gradually unfolded itself in his mind; therefore the importance of tracing all the little details in his life, especially all those bearing upon this question, is manifest, and is of surpassing interest,—seeing its stupendous issue.

In passing let it be noted that Raleigh, to whom has been attributed the authorship of the colonization idea in England, was between thirteen and fourteen years old at this time.

But Gilbert had to curb his adventurous spirit, and in July was obliged to accompany the troops to Ireland, as has been already related. As soon as he was able, however, he was back again in England. Carrying dispatches from Sidney to Elizabeth, he reached London in November 1566, at about the time when the Act of Incorporation of the Merchant Adventurers Company was passed, and doubtless thought it an opportune time for the furtherance of the scheme he had so much at heart. Counting no doubt upon his interest at Court, he presented the following petition for the gracious consideration of her Majesty:—

"Forasmuch as it hath pleased your Majesty to establish by Parliament the Corporation for the discovery of new trades, I, your Highness' humble servant and subject, Humfrey Gylberte, being one of the same company, am thereby encouraged and mind with your Majesty's license and favour to enterprise and give the attempt with all possible speed, for the discovery of a passage to Cathay, and all the other rich parts of the world, hitherto not found. Which taking good success shall be great honour and strength to Your Majesty with immortal fame throughout the world, besides the great enriching of Your Highness and your country with increase and maintenance of your navy. It may therefore please Your Majesty to grant me these privileges following, as well in consideration of premises, as also of the great charges that I shall sustain by setting forward the same, besides the apparent miserable travell hazard and peril of my life. Wherein I submit my self to the good pleasure and will of God.

"1. First that it may please Your Highness for the first four voyages, so as the same be performed within the space of ten years next following March come twelvemonths, viz. being in Anno 1568, to grant to me the use and occupation at Your Majesty's adventure, of such two of Your Majesty's ships with their furnitures mete for such a voyage as by Your Highness Lord Admiral shall be thought fit for such a service with Your Majesty's commission if need shall be for the oppressing of mariners and other persons mete for same.

"2. And also that I and the heirs male of my body and for default of such issue then the heirs male of the body of Otis Gilbert deceased, may and shall pay but half the Custom and subsidy payable by English men born for such goods and merchandize as we shall by the space of        years by our selves deputies or assigns, being English born, transport or cause to be transported in one or two

ships or vessels unto any place or places hereafter to be by me, my aid or advice discovered towards the northwest or any part of the west, and also shall pay but 12d. for every ton of merchandize brought from such places during the said time in two such ships aforesaid, and no more whatsoever might otherwise have growing to Your Highness heirs or successors for any such merchandize so brought or transplanted as aforesaid.

"3. Also that I and my heirs may have and enjoy of Your Majesty's gift, the tenth part of all such lands, territories, and countries as shall be discovered as is aforesaid towards any part of the north and west as shall be by us chosen with all the profit thereto appertaining with free passage egress and regress to the same, holding the same of your Majesty, your heirs and sucesors by the yearly rent of a knight's fee, for all manner of service and other payments to be set or taxed.

"4. Also that it may please Your Majesty to grant me during my life the Captainship unto and government to Your Majesty's use of all such countries and territories as shall by me or my advice discovered as is aforesaid (with convenient fee and allowance for such a charge) and the same to be occupied and exercised by me or my deputy or deputies so as your Majesty shall allow of him or them by me to be nominated.

"5. Also that it may please your Majesty to grant me and the heirs male of my body and for default of such issue to the heirs male of Otis Gilbert deceased, the one half of your Majesty's part of such goods, fines and forfeitures or penalties as shall hereafter fortune to be forfeited by infringing the privilege of the said corporation for any offence committed towards the northwest or taking any point of the west.

"6. Also that all ships as shall from time to

time be employed about the traffic into any of the discovered countries of any corporation for discovery of new trades, both outwards and homewards with their gynges (?) may be free forever of all arrests, imprests, and implements for any common service of the Realm : less it be at the setting forth of a general army and navy and by virtue of your Highness special commission for the same under your Bill signed."

The Act, just passed, granted to the Corporation of the Merchants Adventurers the sole right to trade with any places northwards, north-eastwards, or north-westwards from London, not known or frequented prior to the recent voyages undertaken by the Company. There was therefore some question whether or not the privileges asked for by Humphrey Gilbert were an infringement of the rights of the Company, and his petition was accordingly submitted to them for their comment and approval. The reply made is tabulated side by side with his petition.

To the first and second articles it was replied—

"Touching the aid of shipping and releasement of custom it is not prejudicial to the Company if it please Her Majesty to grant them, notwithstanding since the Company have from the beginning of the first attempt minded the discovery of Cathay and have made divers attempts thereof and are determined so to do again either by the northeast or by the northwest. They desire to have the rule and ordering of all discoveries towards the said parts agreeing to their privileges wherein they will not refuse but desire the good advice, help and conference of Mr. Gilbert, if it please her, with reasonable conditions to enterprise it or to assist them therein.

"Item, The said fellowship doth mislike wholly the third request as derogatory to their privileges. For it is granted to them that they shall and may subdue

possess and occupy all manner of towns, isles, and main lands of the Infidels, lying northwards, northeastwards, or northwestwards, which shall be found, as vassals and subjects of the realm, and to acquire the title dominion and jurisdiction of those places to be found, unto the Queen's majesty and her successors for ever. Moreover it is granted to the said fellowship that none shall traffic, visit, or sail to any such country lying as is aforesaid undiscovered without the order and agreement of the said fellowship.

"Touching the fourth request the said fellowship can very well like that Mr. Gilbert accepting the freedom of the said society may be appointed in person and not by substitute to be captain and governor of the countries by his travel to be found, so as the liberty of traffic and the privileges aforesaid be entirely preserved to the said fellowship.

"To the fifth and sixth the said society submit themselves to the Queen's Majesty's pleasure."

In the preamble to his petition the discovery of a north-west passage to Cathay is offered as the first inducement, but the body of the petition treats mainly of the rights and privileges to be granted him in the countries he might discover.

Following up the idea of colonization expressed in his *Discourse*, he petitions that he should be appointed governor of all the lands he might discover, and have a grant in fee of one-tenth of the same. Colonization is therefore implied, although it is not proposed in so many words.

But again he was forced to control his ambitions. Prompted by the opposition of the Merchant Adventurers Company, Elizabeth, as we have heard, sent him back to Ireland, charged with a mission to plant a colony there instead of in the New World. This association of ideas is certainly remarkable, and the speculation naturally arises whether the design for colonizing Ulster may not have originated with

Humphrey Gilbert himself and have been proposed to Elizabeth by him, or whether his petition may not at least have suggested the idea to her, or to its projectors, whoever they were.

Some years were to elapse before he could again return to his favourite project.

There are two copies of Gilbert's petition in the Record Office, neither of them is signed nor dated, and but one is in Gilbert's handwriting. Owing to some internal differences in dates it is evident that one was written some months before the other, the first probably in May or June, and the second in November, 1566. From a letter written by Anthony Jenkinson to Cecil early in 1566, it seems that he also was interested in this petition. He asks permission to undertake an expedition to discover Cathay, and says that he had talked the matter over with Gilbert, that they had determined to make the trial at their own charges, and that he had asked Gilbert to solicit the privilege on their joint account. The petitions, however, make no reference to him.

## CHAPTER V

### HIS MARRIAGE; PARLIAMENTARY CAREER; APPOINTMENT AS SURVEYOR OF ARTILLERY

DURING Sir Humphrey Gilbert's visit to England in 1570, bearing upon him "the blushing honours" of knighthood, he wooed and won Mistress Anne Ager, the daughter of Sir Anthony Ager, of Otterden, Kent, and heiress of a considerable fortune. Her father had been Marshal of Calais when it was taken by the French in 1558, and had lost his life in its defence, "having," says Stowe, "performed many notable deeds of valour." "Preferring to die rather than join those who betrayed the city," says another writer.

Gilbert was then in his thirty-second year, and was doubtless a gallant figure when he went a-wooing Mistress Anne, and easily won her heart and hand. Of his personal appearance we have no accurate description, beyond the statement of Hooker that he was "a man of higher stature than the common sort and of complexion cholericke." Sir Walter Raleigh was about six feet in height, and of a powerful build, his hair and beard were black and wavy, his eyes dark and piercing; a description which, with a change in colouring, would very probably answer for Sir Humphrey Gilbert. No striking family likeness, however, is to be observed in their portraits. Gilbert's is the handsomer, the more refined, the more intellectual face; but it lacks the strength and fire which are noticeable in all the portraits of Walter Raleigh.

Gascoigne the poet, writing of Gilbert about this time, says he was "well and worshipfully born and bred, endowed with great gifts of the mind and well given

to the advancement of knowledge and virtue." He had long familiarity with the Court of Elizabeth, was a soldier of renown, having distinguished himself by his recent services in Ireland, and was heir to his brother Sir John Gilbert, besides having considerable landed property of his own. He was undoubtedly quite a "parti," and the young couple doubtless began their wedded life with every prospect of happiness.

We know little of Lady Gilbert, but cannot imagine that her life was a very happy one. The wives of enthusiasts are seldom happy. For Gilbert's colonization schemes were to become an absorbing passion, and upon them he lavished not only his own but his wife's fortune. But not to anticipate the story, their outset in life was no doubt brilliant.

In the thirteen years of their married life she bore him six sons and one daughter. Their names were—(1) John, who succeeded to the title and left no issue; (2) Humphrey; (3) Otho, who died in Belgium; (4) Arthur, killed at the siege of Amiens; (5) Anthony; (6) Raleigh, who fell heir to the estates, and from whom the present family is descended.

Their home may have been for a short time at Compton, and doubtless they often visited Greenway; from 1573 to 1578 they lived quietly at Limehouse,<sup>1</sup> and lastly at the Manor of Minster in Steppey.

The next event to be recorded in Humphrey Gilbert's life is his representation of the town of Plymouth in Elizabeth's fourth Parliament, which sat from April 2 to May 29 in the year 1571. Associated with him was Sir John Hawkins, who resided in Plymouth and

<sup>1</sup> *Limehouse*.—In Stowe's *London* we find the following interesting account of Limehouse:—"There hath been of late, in place of elm trees, many small tenements raised towards Ratcliffe; and Ratcliffe itself hath been also increased in building eastward, in place where I have known a large highway, with fine elm trees on both sides, that the same hath now taken hold of Lime Hurst or Lime Host, corruptly called Lime House, sometime distant a mile from Ratcliffe."

enjoyed great popularity with his fellow citizens. The Gilbert family owned a good deal of property both in and around Plymouth, and it was probably through this interest that he obtained his election. The seafaring population of Plymouth was well represented.

Elizabeth was always extremely averse to summoning Parliament, and only dire necessity, in the shape of want of funds, ever compelled her to do so. This particular Parliament was composed principally of the ultra-Protestant party, and proved to be more independent, and more determined to stand upon its rights than any Elizabeth had had to contend with before. She was a very masterful young woman at this period, and had a more exalted opinion of the prerogative of the Crown than even her august father, Henry VIII. But this session she met her match. The House quietly ignored the insignificant program laid down for them in the Speech from the Throne, and proceeded to discuss matters of graver import with a freedom of speech hitherto unknown. Theoretically, freedom of speech was the dearest privilege of the House, and had been frankly and fully admitted by Henry VIII, but Elizabeth continually endeavoured to interfere in the debates, and even ordered members into arrest for daring to speak on subjects she declared to be taboo. When the matter of granting Letters Patent to some Bristol merchants, giving them a monopoly of the salt trade, was under discussion, she sent a peremptory message to the House telling them not to waste time debating matters which did not concern them. The granting of monopolies was one of the most treasured prerogatives of the Crown, and the source of considerable revenue. At first they had been instituted under the guise of fostering trade, but they had become gross impositions. From this time forth, in spite of Elizabeth's arbitrary message, they were freely criticized, and the principle condemned by the Commons, until, at her very last Parliament, the aged Queen bowed to the inevitable, and withdrew every

patent she had granted, apostrophizing the patentees as "harpies and horse-leeches."

But on this occasion she had a valiant champion in the House in the person of Humphrey Gilbert. The Speaker, Fleetwood, on receipt of Elizabeth's message, called the attention of the House to the fact that the granting of patents was the prerogative of the Crown solely, when Humphrey Gilbert arose, and spoke vehemently in support of Fleetwood's statement. He denounced the motion which had been made condemning the issue of the patent in question as a vain device, and an infringement of the prerogative of the Crown. "What was the difference," he asked, "between saying that the Queen was not to use the privileges of the Crown and saying that she was not Queen?" He warned the House not to trespass upon her known clemency, that it was not good to sport with princes, and to take heed lest, if they persisted in their interference, the Queen should exercise her powers, extirpate their challenged liberty, and assume an arbitrary sway.

That Gilbert should have taken the part of the Queen against the Commons, was to be expected from his long and intimate connection with the Court, but one would hardly have expected a man of his enlightenment to have taken this particular opportunity to do so. The abuse was flagrant, and in this instance meant the ruin of some seven thousand industrious people for the enrichment of a few merchants who had "a pull" at Court. Nothing more was said at the time, but a few days afterwards a staunch patriot, Peter Wentworth,<sup>1</sup> attacked Gilbert in unmeasured terms. He said the speech was an insult to the House of Commons, accused Gilbert of untruly informing her Majesty of a motion made in the House on

<sup>1</sup> Peter Wentworth was a patriot who deserves ever to be held in remembrance. Again and again in Elizabeth's Parliaments, he arose to defend the liberties and rights of the Commons. Twice he was ordered to the Tower as a punishment for his freedom of speech, the first occasion in 1576 for a month only, but on the second occasion he was imprisoned for a longer period and ended his days there.

the Queen's prerogative, of fawning upon his Sovereign, compared him to a chameleon which can change itself to all colours except white, and called him "a flatterer, a liar, and a naughtie man." Gilbert vainly endeavoured to defend himself against these accusations; three times he essayed to speak, but each time "received the denial of the House."

This incident affords another example of the extravagant devotion offered to Elizabeth by her courtiers; no adulation was too gross and no language too florid in which to sing her praises; she was almost a deity in their eyes, and no doubt Gilbert was frankly aghast that any of her august prerogatives should be assailed.

A short account of the transactions of this Parliament will not be amiss. On the first day it met for business a Bill was introduced compelling all persons to attend Church every Sunday, and to receive Communion twice a year according to the rites of the Church of England. For half the session the Commons debated this Bill, in spite of Elizabeth's warning that Church questions were outside of their province,—a position which she maintained by refusing to give her assent to the Bill at the end of the session.

Among the Acts passed were several upholding Elizabeth's title, declaring it to be high treason even to discuss the question of an heir to the throne, "except the same be the natural issue of her body." Camden, speaking of his personal knowledge says that a "*double entendre*" was conveyed in this sentence, which caused many unseemly jokes to be made. The publishing of Bulls, Pardons, or other documents from the See of Rome was made an act of high treason. The Act referred to in a previous chapter, forbidding any person to leave the country without licence, was passed. An important Act for the maintenance of navigation and increase of Mariners, renewing the permission to her Majesty's subjects to transport out of the Dominion any Herring or other Sea-fish; permitting them to sell any

Cods or Lings in barrels, "using no fraud or deceit in the barrelling thereof," decreeing a standard size for barrels of herring, and forbidding any fish caught by foreigners to be dried in England. An Act regulating the import of bow-staves, the preamble of which states, that "Whereas the use of Archery not only hath ever been but yet is, by God's special gift to the English nation, a singular defence to this Realm." An Act prohibiting any Hoy or Plate (small vessels) from trading to France or Norway, because the number of Hoys had marvellously increased to the decay of Mariners and Ships,—a line of reasoning which seems somewhat contradictory. Robert, Earle of Leicester, was permitted to found his Hospital at Warwick for the support of twelve old soldiers, which still continues its beneficent office, in the quaint manner then authorized, to the comfort of its favoured occupants and the delighted interest of visitors ever since. By another Act, all persons over the age of seven years were required to wear upon their heads, on Sundays and holy days, a cap of wool "knit, thicked, and dressed in England." Reforestation was enforced by another, in quite modern manner; and finally the whole *raison d'être* of the Parliament, so far as Elizabeth was concerned, the granting to her of a subsidy of £100,000, was unanimously voted, and the session closed.

Elizabeth, in her speech, expressed herself tolerably well satisfied with the work of the session, but remarked that "Some members of the Lower House had shown themselves arrogant and presumptuous, especially in venturing to question her prerogatives. They had forgotten their duties by wasting their time in superfluous speech, and had meddled with matters not pertaining to them, nor within the capacity of their understanding. The audacious folly of this sort deserved her severest censure."

She had the right to the last word in this dispute, and she did not forget to use it. But, as we have had to

record, Humphrey Gilbert was not among those contemptuously termed "this sort." Probably as a reward for his devotion to his Queen at the expense of his country, Elizabeth issued Letters Patent on June 15, 1571, appointing him "Surveyor for seven years for executing the statutes, for the maintenance of artillery, horses, armour, and weapons, and the suppression of unlawful games, by which archery was greatly decayed." This appointment was renewed in 1575, also for a term of seven years.

The statutes referred to principally are 33 Henry VII, Caps. 5 and 9, and 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, Cap. 2. By them were decreed the arms, armour, and horses each squire, knight and noble, according to his degree, was to maintain for the service of the Crown. These Acts apparently were more "honoured in the breach than in the observance," and it was determined to stir up the defaulters. Sir Humphrey was made General Surveyor, and six commissioners were appointed to assist him. Offenders against the laws were, however, to be permitted to compound their offences on payment of a fine, and of these fines Gilbert was to receive "one moiety and one-fifth of the other moiety," or three-fifths of the whole. We have no indication whether this office was genuine or merely a means by which Humphrey Gilbert could fill his purse, after the manner of similar patents showered upon Raleigh and other of Elizabeth's courtiers; nor have we any knowledge how he performed his duties.

During the years 1571-72, Sir Humphrey was interested with Sir Thomas Smyth, Lord Burleigh, and the Earl of Leicester in some experiments made by one Meadley, who declared he could turn iron into copper by means of vitriol. Strype gives us an account of the transaction in his *Life of Sir Thomas Smyth*,<sup>1</sup> and some

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Smyth was selected by Elizabeth for the post of Principal Secretary of State in succession to Lord Burleigh when he was advanced to the Lord Chancellorship.

correspondence between Meadley and Lord Burleigh, preserved at the Record Office, fills in some details. Alchemy had not yet grown into the science of chemistry, and the transmutation of metals was firmly believed in. It nevertheless gives one somewhat of a shock to find these four men, leaders of thought in their day, so able and wise in many things, so easily duped by a common cheat.

Sir Thomas Smyth seems to have been the leader in the matter, and to have induced first Gilbert and then the others, to join him. Strype thus describes the four partners. "Sir Thomas Smythe," he says, "had a very busy active mind and a philosophical head," Lord Burleigh had also "a philosophical genius," Sir Humphrey Gilbert was "a learned knight and of a projecting head," and the Earl of Leicester "was very forward in offering iron and lead" to be transmuted.

Meadley first changed iron into copper at Sir Thomas Smyth's house in London, but the process proved too expensive; he declared, however, that if he could find in England the "*primum ens vitrioli*," the cost would be very much less. Sir Thomas and Sir Humphrey furnished him with £100, and leased some property from Lady Mountjoy at £300 per annum, which would supply, Meadley declared, the necessary ingredients. Sir Thomas was now sent Ambassador to France, and the chief conduct of the affair devolved on Sir Humphrey. Presumably he either suspected Meadley of being an impostor, or perhaps thought he was concealing from them the knowledge he really possessed. Anyhow they immediately fell out. We don't know what Sir Humphrey said of Meadley, but Meadley wrote to Lord Burleigh in most virtuous indignation against Gilbert. He accused Smyth and Gilbert of sending a man to spy upon him, and to have taken Lady Mountjoy's house in their own name, excluding his. He complained that his name had been "scorched with ill report," and declares that he was ready to repay all the

money he had received and "so cleanse his hands of such pytche." He said, Sir Humphrey "lokethe to have attendance of me in things yt my nature can nott and wyll nott permitt," that "he regardeth neither word nor bonde," and that "if he offered violence he would do so at his perill." He then concludes by offering to let Burleigh into his secret and to make for him 100 tons of perfect copper per annum. Another letter declares that he is still encountering "Mr. Gilbert's malice and foul policy," but offers, if his own name is included in the patent, and Gilbert's excluded, to proceed at once to work on Leicester's and Burleigh's soil.

The patent he referred to was to incorporate into "The Society of the New Art," Burleigh, Smyth, Leicester, and Gilbert, to whom was granted the privilege of making copper and quicksilver by way of transmutation. Her Majesty was to receive two per cent. of the proceeds.

Gilbert now departed on his campaign to the Low Countries, but when Smyth came back, he was still so convinced of the possibility of the transaction that he made peace with Meadley and set him to work again, but the only result was a crop of debts. Smyth and Gilbert lost over £400 in the transaction. How this august company finally became disillusionized and dissolved partnership is not related. Strype says, "I make no doubt that Sir Thomas smarted in his purse for his chymical covetousness, and Gilbert seems to have been impoverished by it, while Meadley was beggared, for I find him two years after made prisoner for debt."

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CAMPAIGN IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT began his military career fighting with the Huguenots against the Catholic party in Normandy in 1562; and we now find him employed ten years later fighting on behalf of the Protestants in the Netherlands against their Spanish oppressors. The Spanish yoke had borne heavily upon the Low Countries, and at this period they appeared to be reduced to a condition of utter hopelessness. Rebellion seemed out of the question.

Margaret of Parma, who governed in the Netherlands on behalf of her brother, Philip II, had ruled the unhappy country with a rod of iron. Among other ordinances, intended to quench the burning zeal of the Protestant Reformers, she gave orders that all heretics were to be slain, whether they had given in their allegiance or not; and Alva, who had just succeeded her, continued this career of butchery, and openly boasted that, by his orders, he had done to death no less than 18,600 Protestants. William the Silent had been driven to exile, and the few who still had the hardihood to defy Spain, like the rebelling West Countrymen in Mary's reign, took to the sea and carried on an irregular warfare against the Spanish shipping. They were known as "Sea Gueux," or "water beggars," and conducted their operations largely from English ports, having the open sympathy of the people, and the connivance, if nothing more, of the Court.

In January 1572, the Spanish Ambassador waited upon Elizabeth, and made formal complaint against the support and assistance given to these patriot pirates by the English. It suited Elizabeth's policy at the time to

stand well with Spain, and she accordingly issued a proclamation commanding all Netherlanders, suspected of hostile designs against Spain, at once to leave England, and ordering that all ships of war belonging to them then harbouring in English ports should be seized and confiscated. An additional reason for this edict was that the Easterling merchants complained that their trade was being interfered with by the Sea Gueux.

It so happened that one of the most able of Dutch sea rovers, William Van der Merk, then lay in Dover with several ships. Being warned in time, he slipped away, and driven to desperation, made a descent upon the town of Brill, thus carrying out an intention which had been contemplated for some time. The townspeople fled in dismay, and the "water beggars" took possession of the town, venting their enmity upon the Catholic priests and churches only. In a few days most of the townspeople returned and threw in their lot with their assailants. The revolt spread rapidly; Flushing and nearly all the other chief cities followed the example of Brill, and made a desperate effort to throw off the yoke of Spain. They invited William of Orange to return and assume the Government, and urgently appealed for help to the Protestant Queen of England.

Elizabeth, whose policy was to "run with the hare and hunt with the hounds," desired to encourage the revolt without coming to an open breach with Spain. By the Treaty of Blois, April 19, 1572, France and England agreed surreptitiously to assist the Netherlanders. Bands of Englishmen were therefore encouraged to go to their aid. Just at this time there was quite an outburst of military enthusiasm in London. All through the winter large numbers of recruits had mustered weekly for training in martial exercises. On May Day they paraded before the Queen at Greenwich, "where," says Stow, "they showed many warlike feats, but were hindered by the weather."

Whether it was in the enthusiasm for their newly-

acquired military exercises, or influenced by direct encouragement from the Queen, the troops which went across to the Netherlands appear to have been drawn largely from these musters. The first detachment, numbering about 300, was under the command of the bold Thomas Morgan. They were received into Flushing, and valiantly assisted the townspeople in repelling an attack from the Spaniards. Morgan wrote letters to England, telling of the strength and richness of the town, and induced Sir Humphrey Gilbert to contract with the Flushingers to raise troops and come to their assistance. Accordingly, in July he crossed the Channel with ten bands numbering altogether 1500 men.

In examining into the circumstances surrounding this expedition under Gilbert, there is again unearthed one of those strange deeds of duplicity with which Elizabeth conducted her foreign policy. Not that Elizabeth was singular in this respect. Machiavelli's *Prince*<sup>1</sup> was then the guide-book for diplomatic conduct, and *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare* was the motto generally acted upon. As in the case of the Huguenots, the assistance of Elizabeth had been gained by the offer to her of the town of Newhaven; so now the Netherlands tried to bribe her by the promise of Flushing. The Spanish Ambassador, De Guaras, wrote to the Duke of Alva on June 30: "She told me that emissaries were coming every day from Flushing to her, proposing to place the town in her hands. If it was for the service of his Majesty, and if his Majesty approved, she said, she would accept the offer. With the English who were already there and with others whom she would send over for the purpose, it would be easy for her to take entire possession of the place, and she would then make it over to the Duke of Alva or to any one whom the Duke would appoint to receive it."

<sup>1</sup> Even at that time this sinister motive was recognized. Archbishop Parker, writing to Lord Burleigh—"This Machiavell government is strange to me for it bringeth forth strange fruit."

De Guaras could have had no object in misrepresenting Elizabeth, nor is it possible that he could have misunderstood her, and we can only conclude that Elizabeth either actually contemplated this piece of blackest treachery to the Netherlanders, or wished to make it appear to Spain that she intended it. Whatever the design may have been, Gilbert went over and fought desperately against the Spaniards, and every precaution was taken to make it appear that he did so entirely without the knowledge and support of the Queen and her Council. We are therefore encouraged to hope that the idea of winning Spain's neutrality by such a piece of treachery was abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

We are now faced with another problem. Was Elizabeth moved by a genuine desire to help the Netherlanders against England's arch-enemy, Spain, or was the mainspring of her actions the intention to hold Flushing, and how far was Sir Humphrey Gilbert aware of the real design? Before we can arrive at any conclusion it is first necessary to follow exactly what happened.

Alva was kept carefully informed of the course of events in England. He had been advised that Sir Humphrey Gilbert was to be sent to Flushing some time before his departure; and on July 22, he received a letter telling of the equipment of Gilbert's band and its arrival at Flushing. This seems to have taken place early in July, 1572. Sir Humphrey Gilbert found his position greatly complicated by the presence at Flushing of a number of Huguenots, who had gone to the assistance of their Protestant friends. On July 15, he agreed to a form of capitulation with the Governor and Boroughmen of Flushing on behalf of both the French and

<sup>1</sup> It appears that in addition to sending troops to the Netherlands, Elizabeth also lent them money. Raleigh, when on trial for his life, said, "I knew the Queen of England lent not her money to the States, but she had Flushing, Brill, and other towns in assurance for it. She lent not her money to the King of France without she had Newhaven for it."

English volunteers. Two hundred English and the same number of French were to remain in the town for a guard, and in case of attack equal numbers of both nations were to be received, but neither was allowed to control the situation. All the wounded and sick were to be sheltered in the town without respect to numbers. The gentlemen and soldiers of both nations were to have free access to the town if provided with proper passports.

One would imagine from this that the townspeople of Flushing, knowing the offers which had been made to deliver their town to Elizabeth, were determined to guard themselves against any such eventuality. They evidently looked upon their volunteer allies with grave suspicion. Froude, who has examined this episode with great care, thinks that the rumour of Elizabeth's proposed treachery had reached their ears, and that "Sir Humphrey Gilbert, little knowing the service which Elizabeth had rendered him, was at a loss to comprehend the hostility with which he found himself regarded."

The commander of the Flushingers was t'Zaareets, or, as he is generally called in English accounts, Sara or Zara. With him Gilbert had a sort of *divisum imperium*, which was not properly defined, and led to many misunderstandings and jealousies.

With the exception of Gilbert's letters and contemporary State Papers, the only detailed account we have of this campaign was written by Sir Roger Williams, and published in 1618, under the title *The Actions of the Lowe Countries*. Sir Roger Williams served all through the campaign, and, as we shall see, had but a poor opinion of the manner in which it was conducted. One other account we have in the narrative poem of Gascoigne, called "Dulce Bellum," but this latter gives more particularly Gascoigne's personal adventures, gallant and ungallant, and is so confused that it is of little historical value. It is hard to dis-

tinguish, to use his own phrase, "'twixt broyles and bloudie warres."

Gilbert and t'Zaareets decided first to make an expedition into Flanders and to endeavour to take Bruges, which they were informed was poorly garrisoned. Landing opposite to Flushing with 1400 English, 400 Walloons, and 600 French troops, they occupied the village of Ardenburgh, intending from thence to attack Sluys and Bruges. Some 800 troops were placed in ambush during the night, near the gates of Sluys, and when the gates were opened in the morning they might easily have taken the town; but having been told "to lie close," they did so literally, and lost their opportunity. As soon as they were discovered by the townspeople, a smart artillery fire was opened on them, followed by a sortie.

Sir Humphrey and t'Zaareets now arrived on the scene, and the townspeople were driven back. The Spanish commander then began a parley as if he intended to surrender the town, but in reality to gain time until he could communicate with the Duke of Alva. At the end of four days, when the allied troops went to receive his submission, they were greeted with such a hot artillery fire that they "retired faster than they came." Gilbert and t'Zaareets next decided to attack Bruges. Arriving opposite the town at break of day, they sent a trumpeter to demand its surrender. The commander, the Count de Reux, rudely replied that he would see them hanged first. This is not a figurative speech.

The historian proceeds: "Sir Humphrey was then in great choler, swearing divers oathes that he would put all to the sworde unlesse they would yeeld."

But t'Zaareets persuaded him to retire without making an assault, which was done all the more quickly when they heard that large reinforcements were on the way.

Lying at Ardenburgh a few days afterwards, they heard of a convoy on the way to Bruges, and ambushing

it successfully, killed many of the troops, and took the artillery and supplies. But being informed that a large body of Spanish troops, under Julianio Romero, was marching into Flanders, they hastily retreated. Roger Williams, who is not without a vein of humour, says, "this newes made us not to take counsell twice about our retraite. Whereupon we marched with all speed towards Flushing."

But instead of returning at once to Flushing, they decided to cross to the island of South Beveland, and to besiege the town of Tergoes, having been informed that it was poorly garrisoned. But to their surprise and discomfiture they found it well defended by a Spanish garrison under Pedro Pacheco.

The attacking party under Morgan was surprised by Pacheco, and defeated with considerable loss before Gilbert and t'Zaareets arrived. William says, "I persuaded myself the moste of them were afraid. I am to blame to judge their minds, but let me speake troth. I doe assure you it was not without reason, for the most of us entered with Yorke were slaine; such as escaped swam and struggled through muddy ditches."

The next day Pacheco sallied out and attacked his besiegers, but was driven back with much loss. Williams here blames his commanders for not having cut off Pacheco from the town, which would have been quite possible had they known the country. It was no excuse that they did not know the way. As Williams rightly remarks, "A commander who enters the enemy's countries ought to know the places he doth attempt, or be furnisht with guides. . . . But we were so ignorant that we knew not our own state, much less the enemy's."

The next day they abandoned the siege, "for want of artilleries," it was alleged, and returned to Flushing. Arriving at the town, they received a rebuff from the inhabitants, who refused to let them enter until they had wiped out the disgrace of their unsuccessful cam-

paign, whereupon they retired to the little village of Souburg.

While lying there they were attacked by a powerful Spanish force from the city of Middleburgh, who, by way of striking terror into the hearts of the allied troops, "prepared a great number of haulters, giving them to their soldiers with a commandment to hang all the prisoners they should take." "But," continues Williams, "it is no surety to reckon without an host,—for the allied troops gave the enemy a complete overthrow, driving them clean out of the Campe, and following them in defeate half-way to Middleburgh. After, our men hung a number of them with their own haulters."

This act of valour restored their prestige in the eyes of the townspeople, and they were again admitted into the town.

Dissensions and jealousies now began to break out between the English and the French, and the townspeople apparently sided at first with the latter. Lord Burleigh, writing to the Earl of Leicester on Aug. 10, gives us an indication of the intention of Elizabeth and her Council in sending Gilbert to Flushing. He says, "Our people in Zealand and the Low Countrys do not prosper, but fall to pillage. And beside that we see the French will prevent them of the town of Flushing, *which if they shall do, there is no cause why they should continue there.* We therefore do send over one, Pyckman, a very wise and valiant man, to confer with Sir Humphrey Gilbert upon the estate, and principally to devise how they may prevent the French in the taking of Flushing." "Prevent" is, of course, used in the same sense as it is in the Book of Common Prayer, and proves that Flushing was the goal of their ambition, and the desire of helping the Netherlanders but a secondary consideration.

Fortunately copies of both the instructions given to Pyckman and the letter which he carried to Sir Hum-

phrey Gilbert have been preserved. They are excellent examples of the diplomacy of the day.

The letter to Sir Humphrey Gilbert begins by expressing the great concern that the Queen and her Council had for her subjects serving under him, many of them "a choyse sorte of gentlemen of good estimation and habilitie"; and "although your goinge thither was without our direction, yet seeing you are there, our desires and Counsells are that some good order and government mighte be established amongst you for your own better government,—and to recover the likinge of the people of that lowe countrie to whose succor your first coming<sup>e</sup> was by you, as we take it, ment." He is enjoined to take counsell of Pyckman, and to return him speedily with an answer.

Pyckman was evidently to carry by word of mouth the gist of the instructions to Gilbert. He was cautioned not to let it be known that he went to the Low Countries except "of his own private mind," and he and Gilbert were to be doubly cautious that the matter of their conferences was not to get abroad. Pyckman was informed that Gilbert had left Flushing and made an incursion into Flanders which had not been very successful, although the English had acted with great bravery. The Council thought that Gilbert's troops had been unnecessarily made to bear the brunt of every encounter, and that the French had drawn him away from Flushing in order that they might take possession of it themselves.

They then disclosed the real purpose of the expedition in the following: "And for that Sir Humphrey Gilberte well knoweth, that if that towne should so be by them possessed, the fruites of his journey were voide, and that wee see no purpose at all of the abode of him or any of his Companie in those partes, if it be gotten and kept by the French, he shall there forthwith use all good policie to prevent the perill, and not to omit any occasion to recover the towne and to indevor to

gayne the good will of the inhabitants by assuring of them that his intention is wholly to healpe them to their auncient liberties." How the town was to be got into his power, they left to his own consideration, "and of those who will be secreat with him. . . . For if the French have any inkling of his intent he will be prevented." Pyckman was instructed to tell Gilbert that the Duke of Alva had complained of the presence of his band in the Netherlands, who, Alva said, had given out that they were there by her Majesty's commands. As it was not true that her Majesty had sent them there, the statement must be contradicted, and in such a way that it should get to Alva's ears. Gilbert was to let it be known that, far from having any designs upon any territory of the King of Spain, they were only anxious to prevent it from falling into the hands of his enemies, "and in thus doinge the verie truthe of her majestie's intention shall be uttered." But in the next paragraph Gilbert is again instructed to give his attention to the keeping of Flushing and the recovery and keeping of Sluys.

Another letter for Sir Humphrey was confided to Pyckman. It contained instructions to return to England with all his troops, but was only to be used if he happened "to be in any place distante from Flushing, and thereby take occasion to withdraw himself and his nombers to the enterprise of Flushing, upon pretence of his cominge away by the commandment of the same letter."

It would be hard to get more varieties of duplicity in one letter. The French, the Spaniards, the Netherlanders were all to be deceived in turn. Every action was but to be the blind for some other. One could be certain beforehand that it would not be possible to pursue such a devious path successfully. Gilbert, however, appears to have succeeded in establishing himself in Flushing, whether by force or policy we are not informed, and to have held it until the final *dénouement*.

Gilbert wrote to Burleigh on Aug. 13, telling him that

he had heard a large number of French were shortly to come to Flushing. He asked for instructions what to do therein, as he was otherwise determined to leave the town.

"They practise here," he said, "to use our soldiers very evil, and to banish those of the townspeople that are our friends; and do in effect starve the English soldiers by practice, only to cause mutinies to have the soldiers run away, so that I and the few English that be in this town are sure to be murdered if I continue here. Therefore my most humble suit is that I know without delay what her Majesty will have done touching this island and town. If her Majesty or your Honour will have me do it, I will procure a mutiny, if I can, between the townspeople and the French, and will take the townspeople's part, and will die for it and all my people, except we cut all the Frenchmen in pieces and the Governor also. I know this is the like plot laid for us." He asks for a galley and one or two frigates in order that the plot may be more certain. He praises his soldiers highly, saying they had fought valiantly on the 9th, "had killed diverse Spaniards, and made them run away towards Middleburgh three miles like peasants."

He thanks Burleigh for his favours, and will be at all times ready to take anything in hand, "with Gideon's faith."

On Aug. 29, Sir Humphrey wrote again to Burleigh, informing him that they were to join forces with the Prince of Orange on the 31st; but in a postscript he adds that the project was deferred through the cowardice of t'Zaareets, the Dutch commander, "who hardly dares do anything that is accompanied by danger." Gilbert thought this an opportune time to press for the payment of the money due to himself and his troops for their services in Ireland three years previously, and begs Lord Burleigh "to procure that I ma<sup>y</sup> be paid the sum so soon as may be, for that my utter undoing dependeth

thereon. I having mortgaged certain lands and entered into great bonds for the payment of money, all which if they be not paid will turn to my discredit for ever, and therefore I do desire your honour to stand my good Lord as always heretofore you have done, otherwise I had quailed long ere this."

This was followed by a letter on Sept. 3, giving full particulars of the strength of the armies of the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Alva. Encouraged by their success at Souburg, they had decided to make another attack upon Tergoes on the 6th instant. Not a single French soldier remained at Flushing, so if there were more English sent over before the French should return, the place might be possessed without bloodshed. Yet nothing could be attempted unless the English were masters of the sea, otherwise the ships of war belonging to the town could cut off all their supplies.

When he next wrote, three days afterwards, he had just heard of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, at which he was greatly moved, but trusted it was not so horrible as report said. He hoped that Burleigh would point out to the Queen the danger ready to fall on her if she did not look to taking revenge for these atrocities, seeing that if the opportunity favours, there is nothing else to look for but the tragical destruction of all the Protestants in Europe. He reported that affairs in the Low Countries were in such train that if the Prince of Orange had but moderate succour he would utterly overthrow the Duke of Alva, and consequently all the other enemies of Christianity. This letter was written from before Tergoes, the siege of which had been begun as intimated in the previous letter. On the next day he wrote again, declaring that with a little more help he would be able to place both the islands of Walchern and South Beveland in the hands of her Majesty, and added the following curious postscript, showing that he knew full well that her Majesty's instructions were often meant for show only, and not intended to be carried out.





## MAP OF LOW COUNTRIES.

"I do know that Her Majesty and My Lords of the Council are many times enforced to *pretend* that they nothing desire. Wherefore what letter soever shall be sent me from the Lords of the Council for revoking of me home, I will think them but for form, except your Honour do write me your private letters to return, and then I will without delay, God willing, obey them, otherwise proceed here as I shall see cause."

As an indication of the close espionage kept by Spain on the English Court, Antonio Fogaza wrote to the Duke of Alva on Sept. 8, informing him that Gilbert had sent the copy of a letter received by the Governor of Flushing, containing promises from the Admiral of France, to the effect, that if the Queen would join France and break with Spain, they would pay her 200,000 ducats.

Froude argues that it was through Elizabeth's double dealing that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was brought about. While pretending to receive Alençon's addresses and to join France against Spain, she was all the while secretly treating with Alva to make her own advantage out of the matter. When Catherine de Medici discovered this *rapprochement* between England and Spain, and saw that no assistance was to be gained from Protestant England, she threw the whole of her influence on the side of the Guises against the Huguenots, and authorized the massacre. This reasoning seems somewhat strained. On the contrary, it appears that Elizabeth at the time favoured the French alliance, but after the massacre she shifted her position and again encouraged Spain.

The siege of Tergoes was found to be a matter of more difficulty than was at first supposed. The town was well defended by Pedro Pacheco, and the besiegers were so badly provided with the munitions of war that they were unable to pursue their advantages. A quarrel also arose between Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Morgan. Morgan considered himself insulted, and wanted to

withdraw from Sir Humphrey Gilbert's command; but, the informant says, the matter was too trivial to be called an insult, and he had endeavoured to make peace between them.

Gilbert, writing from Flushing on Sept. 27 to Burleigh, asks him not to give heed to any complaints made against him by those "who had misused themselves."

He was then returning to Tergoes, where they had made a breach and intended to assault, "which he utterly disliked yet could not let it, being agreed on in my absence." Williams seems to think the assault had a fair chance of success, but that their actions were greatly hampered by "a great picke and jealousie which grewe between Sir Humphrey and Saras, so each would fain disgrace his fellow." The result was that the "camisado" was repelled, with ten persons hurt and slain; but, says Sir Humphrey, "it was a marvel it had not cost 500 lives." After praising several of the gentlemen who distinguished themselves in this foolhardy assault, he adds that it had taught the Spaniards a wholesome lesson, that "they would be glad to make good wars with us, for that we have hanged so many of them and are liker to take of them than they of us."

Williams records that both Sir Humphrey and Saras served very valiantly, but the failure "so quailed our courage that we despaired of the towne." But receiving large reinforcements from the Prince of Orange, they continued the siege. These new troops were, however, "simpler men than ourselves, yea, so rawe that they brought us every day into more disorders," says Williams.

But the siege of Tergoes was soon to be brought to a conclusion by a most daring and remarkable feat of arms. The Spanish troops under Avila and Mondragon were assembled at Bergen-op-Zoom, distant from the island of South Beveland about eight miles, and separated therefrom by half-submerged lands known as "Verdrongen Lands." The problem of transport was

a difficult one, but finally a peasant declared that there was a fordable path across these lands, and offered to lead the troops. The aged veteran, Mondragon, immediately decided to attempt the crossing, and selecting 3000 of his ablest troops, plunged in first with the guide, followed in double column by his soldiers, and accomplished the crossing with the loss of but a few men. He at once got into communication with Tergoes by means of beacons; and the besiegers, seeing that it was hopeless to endeavour to oppose them, fled to their ships in disorder, pursued by the Spaniards. Numbers of them were slain, and many of them were drowned before they could get on shipboard. Gilbert has left us no account of this disaster, and our information is derived from Sir Roger Williams, who tersely closes his narrative with the remark, "So ended our ignorant poor siege."

Sir Humphrey and his troops were so discomfited by this defeat, that they decided to return to England, notwithstanding that the Prince of Orange offered them many inducements to remain.

The Spanish agent, De Guaras, wrote on Nov. 4 that Lord Burleigh had informed him that "*although no notice had been taken of the Queen's offer to recall the English troops*, she had ordered Sir Humphrey Gilbert to return." But the Spaniards were not deceived by this plausible attempt to make a virtue of necessity. De Guaras wrote a few days later that Sir Humphrey Gilbert had returned on Nov. 5 with about 800 troops, and Antonio Fogaza added the interesting information that he went secretly to Court as soon as he landed and gave an account of his proceedings. He was then sent away as secretly as he had come, and was ordered to make a public entry into the city as if he had not been at Court, and to pretend that he dared not go thither until his friends had interceded and obtained pardon for him for having gone on the expedition without leave. "This is the sort of strategy they usually employ. The

purpose being, of course, to be able to show the King that it was not done by the Queen's wish, whereas in reality nothing can be done without her license. I beg your Excellency to be convinced that these Englishmen would not have come back had they any place to go to there."

A humiliating close to a disgraceful episode in English foreign politics. Gilbert and his brave followers were dispatched under false colours, and had to return by stealth. But his reputation does not necessarily suffer thereby. He was given a difficult and thankless part to play. If successful he would be acknowledged, if he failed he was to be disowned. Elizabeth's principal inducement in allowing the departure of the expedition was to gain Flushing, but she dared not let Spain, France, or the Netherlands know of her intention. Each was to be given a different reason for the action.

She had agreed with France to assist the Lowlanders surreptitiously. Spain was told that Gilbert and his band had acted entirely against her wishes, and would be recalled if Spain desired it. The Lowlanders were given to understand that the help they received from England was entirely disinterested, while Gilbert was instructed to take and hold Flushing, else there was no object in his staying there. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew she desired to be on friendlier terms with Spain, and Gilbert returned in pretended disgrace, but nevertheless a continual stream of men and money poured across the Channel to the assistance of William of Orange.

Elizabeth was an opportunist. Her motto might very properly have been "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," for she lived from day to day only, always avoiding a decision, and satisfied with any temporary respite. She now sided with France and now with Spain, played off one courtier against another, and drove the many suitors for her hand frantic by her pretended

indecision. Her whole life was a puzzle to her Court, and is an everlasting problem for historians.

We conclude that Gilbert was aware from the first that if possible he was to obtain possession of Flushing, and that help for the Netherlanders was a secondary consideration. But yet we can see that he was deeply interested in the cause of his co-religionists. He was thrilled with horror by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and he begged Burleigh to use his influence with the Queen to send more help to William of Orange. Perhaps the hope held out of obtaining some portion of the Low Countries was *diplomatic* on his own part. If Elizabeth would not help the Protestants for the sake of their religion, she might do so in the hope of acquiring territory of importance.

In any case there was no pretence about the help he gave to the Netherlanders. That at least was as genuine as it was important. With little assistance, and without even moral support, by his efforts the Spaniards were held at bay for months, giving time to the Prince of Orange to assemble his forces. The rebellion thus begun, ended after desperate fighting in the establishment of the Republic of the United Netherlands in 1609.

It is somewhat surprising to find that Motley dismisses the assistance of the English in a brief line. The Dutch commander, t'Zaareets, whom Gilbert charges with cowardice and bad generalship, is given the credit for the successful actions fought by Gilbert and his English volunteers.

We learn from Howe's continuation of Stow's *Annals*, 1615, that Walter Raleigh accompanied his brother throughout this campaign, a statement which seems to have escaped the notice of Raleigh's biographers, both ancient and modern. It yet appears to have been a most probable occurrence. Raleigh's history, before he attracted the notice of Elizabeth, is almost unknown. Many efforts have been made to

lift the veil which obscures it, but hitherto without success.

Camden says he accompanied Henry Champernown to France in 1569, where he fought on the side of the Huguenots, and it has been generally assumed that he remained there until 1576, but this cannot be demonstrated satisfactorily.

That Raleigh would wish to accompany his brother on his knight-errant expedition to the Low Countries is most natural, and by assuming that he did so, another problem in his career is also satisfactorily solved. He is first heard of in London in 1576. In that year the poet Gascoigne published his satirical poem, "The Steele Glasse," to which are prefixed some verses signed "Walter Rawley, of the Middle Temple."

The verses themselves are of little value either as poetry or evidence, and are only interesting as they indicate a certain amount of friendship and familiarity with Gascoigne. This is confirmed by the fact that Raleigh afterward adopted the motto *Tam Marte quam Mercurio*, which had always been used by Gascoigne.

Where and when this friendship developed has never been explained, beyond the fact that it was probably through the instrumentality of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Gascoigne had never been in France, where Raleigh was supposed to have spent the years 1569 to 1576. In his narrative poems, entitled "A Voyage into Holland," and "Dulce Bellum," he tells us that he left England in March 1572, and joined Morgan's band of volunteers at Flushing. He was in Brill shortly after it was taken by the "Sea Gueux," whose dissolute conduct he describes, and was all through the campaign under Gilbert and t'Zaareet. Of the siege of Tergoes he writes—

"I was again in trench before Tergoes.  
Yet surely this withouten bragge or boast  
Our English bloudes did there full many a deede  
Which may be chronicled in every coaste

## SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT 101

For bold attempts; and well it was agreed  
That had their heads been ruled by warie-heede  
Some othere feat had been attempted then  
To show their force like worthie English men."

This criticism is presumably directed against t'Zaarets, for of Gilbert he had the highest opinion, as expressed in his Preface to Gilbert's *Discourse of a Discoverie of a Passage to Cathay*. Gilbert returned to England in 1572, but Gascoigne stayed on until the summer of 1574. Probably in the winter of 1575, he paid the visit to Gilbert at Limehouse, described in the Preface above referred to.

If it be admitted that the statement in Stowe's *Annals* is correct, a place and occasion are found for the acquaintance of Gascoigne and Raleigh. It is to be hoped that the chivalrous young Raleigh was only a companion in arms, and did not share in the dissolute adventures of the poetic soldier of fortune.

An interesting antithesis is noted in the fact that Gascoigne's praise of Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Rawley's verses laudatory of Gascoigne both appeared by way of prefaces in the year 1576. Churchyard, in his *Generall Rehersall of Warres*, 1579, says Sir Humphrey Gilbert "had for his entertainment of his owne persone in wages and other allowances verie neere ten thousand marks per annum, besides verie large allowances for all the Officers, Capitaines and Soldiours under his regimente."

## CHAPTER VII

### THE ARTS OF PEACE. "QUEEN ELIZABETH'S ACADEMY."

FOR ten years, almost without intermission, Humphrey Gilbert had toiled "midst war's alarms." Two years in Newhaven, five in Ireland, and six months in the Low Countries, he had been actively engaged fighting for his Queen, his country, and his religion.

His marriage, his career in Parliament, his aspirations towards the North-West Passage, his colonization schemes for Ireland, his duties as Surveyor of Artillery, and his interest in the chimerical experiments of Meadley, constitute a very full life, leaving, one would think, little room for other interests. But his appears to have been one of those active minds whose capacity for work increases the more fully it is employed. It is always the busy man who has time for something more, and the idle man who has time for nothing. We are now to find that Gilbert took the deepest interest in matters quite foreign to his usual avocations.

Several references have been made to Gascoigne's Preface to the *Discourse of a North-West Passage*. While it may be thought that it should have accompanied the description of that work, from point of time it is evident that it belongs more properly to the period now dealt with. The *Discourse of a North-West Passage* was written in 1566, but the Preface was written in 1575 or 1576, and the interesting contemporary description it gives us of Gilbert during the "piping times of peace" belongs, therefore, to the latter period.

Gascoigne was the most prominent man in literature

in the early Elizabethan days. He was a gentleman by birth and education, a member of Gray's Inn, a traveller and a soldier. But he was a sad scamp. Just before he went to Holland in 1572, he had offered himself as a "burgess" for the town of Bedford, but they would have none of him. The petition against his appointment, presented to the Lords of the Privy Council, gave the following good and sufficient reasons—

"Firste he is indebted to a greate number of personnes etc.

"Then he is a defamed person and noted as well for manslaughter as for other greate crymes.

"Then he is a common Rymer and a deviser of slanderous Pasquelles against divers personnes of greate callinge.

"Then he is a notorious ruffiane and especiallie noted to be bothe a Spie, an Athiest and a Godles personne."

Praise from such a source might reasonably be considered questionable, but Gascoigne was not entirely void of good feeling, as many of his writings show, and in his last days (his death occurred in 1577) was quite a reformed character.

The *Discourse* was reprinted by Hakluyt in 1589, but the Preface was not included, and is now republished for the first time, being of interest, not only for the glimpse it gives us of Gilbert, but also as a specimen of the work of a noted Elizabethan author.

"Preface to

*A Discourse of a Discoverie  
for a new Passage to Cataia.*

Written by Sir Homfrey Gilbert, Knight.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, C. 32, B. 29.

*"George Gascoigne*

Esquire to the Reader

"Every man that is of iudgment and hath a reasonable disposition to the attaining of anie vertue, together with a discretion to vse the benefites of nature, will confesse, that we are by as great reason bounde to encourage and commend the industrie of the diligent as to dispraise and punish the slouth or abuse of the negligent: For if princes doe not as well rewarde and cherish the well deserving subiecte, as their Judges and Magistrates are readie to correct the offendour, the Common Wealth might then quickly be deprived both of the one and the other: I meane that as fast as the sword of Justice should weede out the one, so fast the scourge of ingratitude woulde chase out the other. And so thereby their dominions might (in the end) become naked and altogether unfurnished.

"We see the good huswife is no lesse curious to decke her bees hive, to rub and perfume it with sweete herbes, to cover and defend it from raine with clay and hoordes, and to place it in the warme Sunshine safe from the Northerly blast: then She is readie to wreck her malice on the drones, to smoke and smoulder them with Bunte and Brimstone, to fray and chase them out by soudain noyse, and to kill them and caste them away, as vnprofitable members in her Microcosmos. Yea, and with Melodie of Basons and Timbrils will shee welcome home her swarme, if at anye time they doe (waspihly) goe astray, and yet at last retourne to their former abyding.

"Thus muche (gentle reader) I have thought good (Allegorically) to write in the behalfe of the right worshipful and my very frend S. Humfrey Gilbert, Knight, the true author of this little (yet profitable) Pamphlet, intituled A Discourse of a Discoverie for a newe passage to Cataia, &c. In whose Commendation I would fayne write as much as hee deserveth, were I

not afrayde to bee condemned by him of flatterie : which blame (with my friendes) I vse not to deserve. But surely, over and besides that, hee is a gentleman wel and worshipfully borne and bredde, and well tryed to bee valiant in martiall affayres, wherby hee hath worthely beene constituted a Coronell and generall in places requisite, and hath with sufficiencie discharged the same, both in this Realme, and in forreigne Nations : hee is also indued with sundrie great gyftes of the mine, and generally well given to the aduancement of knowledge and verue. All whiche good partes I rather set downe constrained by the present occasion, then prompted by any vaine desire to currie fanoure [*sic*] with my friende : For his vertues are sufficient to praise themselves. And it shalbe a sufficient conclusion for my prayses, to wishe that our realme had store of suche Gentlemen.

"But as the good Gardener doth cover his tender herbes in winter, and cherishe them also in summer : so have I thought my selfe bounden somewhat to say in the commendation of this present Treatise, and somewhat to answeere vnto the obiections that might bee made by such as list to caville at everie commendable enterprise.

"And surely I cannot chuse, but highly prayse the noble minde and courage of the Authour, who wrote respectinge the publique profit that might ensue by this Discouerie, then the delicate life of a Courtier. well countenanced and faoured both by his Prince and all the Nobilitie, had prepared his owne bodie to abide the malice of the windes and waues, and was euen ready to have perfourmed the voyage in proper person, if he had not beene by her Maiestie otherwise commanded and imployed in martiall affairs, as well in Ireland, as sithence in other places.

"You must herewith vnderstand (good Reader) that the authour hauinge a worshipfull Knight to his brother, who abashed at this enterprise (as well for

that he himselfe had none issue, nor other heier whome he ment to bestow his lands vpon, but onely this Authour, and that this voyage then seemed strange and had not beene commonly spoken of before, as also because it seemed vnpossible vnto the common capacities) did seeme partly to mislike his resolutions, and to dissuade him from the same, thereupon he wrote this Treatise vnto his saide Brother, both to excuse and cleare himselfe from the note of rashnesse, and also to set downe such Authorities, reasons, and experiences, as had chiefly encouraged him vnto the same, as may appeare by the letter next following, the which I have here inserted for that purpose. And this was done about vii years now past, sithence which time the originall copies of the same have lien by the authour as one rather dreading to hazarde the Judgements of curious perusers, then greedie of glorie by hasty publication.

"Now it happened that my self being one (amongst manie) beholding to the said S. Humfrey Gilbert for sundrie curtesies, did come to visit him in Winter last passed at his house in Limehowse, and beeing verie bolde to demaunde of him howe he spent his time in the loytering vacation from martiall stratagemes, he curteously tooke me up into his Studie, and there shewed me sundrie profitable and verie comendable exercises, which he had perfected painefully with his owne penne: And amongst the rest this present Discouerie. The which as well because it was not long, as also because I vnderstoode that M. Fourboiser (a kinsman of mine) did pretend to trauaile in the same Discouerie, I craued it at the saide S. Humfreyes handes for two or three dayes to reade and to peruse. And he verie friendly granted my request, but stil seming to doubt that thereby the same might, contrarie to his former determination, be Imprinted.

"And to be plaine, when I had at good leasure perused it, and therewithall conferred his allegations by

the Tables of Ortelius, and by sundrie other Cosmographical Mappes and Charts, I seemed in my simple iudgement not only to like it singularly, but also thought it very meete (as the present occasion serueth) to give it out in publike. Whereupon I have (as you see) caused my friendes great trauaile and mine owne greater presumption to be registred in print.

"But since I haue thus aduentured both his rebuke, and mine owne reproofe, let me thus muche alledge in both our defences.

"1. First it is but a Pamphlet and no large discourse, and therefore the more to be borne withal: since the faults (if any be) shalbe the fewer, because the volume is not great.

"2. Also it was ment by the authour, but as a priuate Letter vnto his Brother for his better satisfaction: and therefore his imperfections therein (if any were) are to be pardoned, since it is very likely that if he had ment to publish the same, he would with greater heede have obserued and perused the worke in everie parte.

"3. Againe, it commeth foorth without his consent: so that he had neither warning nor time to examine, nor yet to amende anie thing that were worthie misliking.

"4. Furthermore it treateth of a matter wherof no man hath heretofore written particularly, nor shewed ani approued reason for the same. So that not only his trauaile and paine are very commendable (who out of sundrie Authorities woulde gather one reasonable coniecture) but also the worke is not to be thought bareine, although it doe not fully prooue so much as may be expected, since he that plougheth in a flintie field, speedeth well if he reape but an indifferent crop.

"5. And last of all it is to bee considered, that of things vncertaine, the greatest Clerke that euer was could write but probably.

"Herewithall, as I have preposterously answered such obiections as might be made against it, So now

let me say that a great learned man (euen M. Dee) doth seeme very well to like of this Discouerie and doth much commend the Authour, the which he declareth in his Mathematical preface to the english Euclide. I refer thee (Reader) to peruse the same, and thinke it not strange though I be encouraged by so learned a foreleader, to set forth a thing whiche hee so well liked of.

"To conclude, whereas other Cosmographical workes doe but shew vs things already knowen and treated of, this Discouerie doeth tend to a very profitable and commendable practise of a thing to bee discovered. So that I thought it my part, both for great good will to the authour, and for publike perfourmance of a common duetie, to commend a little Bee so much commendable, to defend it from the stormes of obiections, with boords and clay of direct answers: To set it in the sunshine (as you see) and to ring it out with my best basons, for the better expressing of such ioye and comfort, as I have therein conceiued.

"All whiche, together with the frendly costructions of th' authours travaile and my boldnes, I comend (gentle reader) vnto thy curteous consideration, wishing vnto thee, much profite by perusing this treatise, vnto the authour, much prayer according to his deserts, to my kinsman (who nowe attempeth to prove the same discovery) happy returne, and to my selfe, some thanks and none ill will, for my presumption.

"So that the Authour being thereby encouraged, may be the more willing hereafter to publishe some other well worthy which he hath in readinesse, and whereof hee hath made me alreadie an eyedwitness. Farewell.

"From my lodging where I march amongst the Muses for lacke of exercise in Martiall employtes, this 12 of April 1576.

"A friend to all well

"willing Readers.

"GEORGE GASCOINE.

*"A Prophetical So  
net of the same George Gascoine  
vpon the commendable trauaile which  
Sir Humfrey Gilbert hath dis  
closed in this worke.*

*Men praise Columb is for the passing skil  
Which he declared, in Cosmographie,  
And nam'd him first (as yet we cal him stil)  
The 2 Neptune, dubd by dignity  
Americus Vesputius, for his paine,  
Neptune the 3 ful worthely was named,  
And Magellanus by good right did gaine,  
Neptune the 4 ful filly to be famed.  
But al those three, and al the world beside,  
Discouered not, a thing of more emprice,  
Then in this booke, is learnedly describe,  
By vertue of my worthie friendes deuice.  
Yf such successe, to him (as them) then fall,  
Neptune the 5 we iustly may him call.*

*Tam Marti quam Mercurio."*

The commendation of Dr. John Dee, referred to in the foregoing, does not amount to a great deal. In the preface to his *Euclid*, published in 1570, Dee contends that the English ought to be the most expert seamen, owing to the situation of their country, and that important discoveries of famous and rich countries could be made if they were energetically undertaken. Not mentioning Gilbert by name, he says: "And though, of late, a young gentlemen, a courragious captaine, was in great readiness, with good hope, and great causes of persuasion, to have ventured for a discovery (either westerly by Cape de Paramantic or easterly above Nova Zembla) and was at the very nere tyme of attempting, called and employed otherwise (both

then and since) in great good service to his country, as the Irish rebels have tasted: Yet I say, if the same Gentleman doo not hereafter deal therewith, some one or other should listen to the matter."

Dee took great interest in all the voyages of discovery of the day, and was afterwards an adventurer or shareholder in the expeditions of both Frobisher and Gilbert.

Gascoigne does not appear to be at all apologetic for having in a manner cribbed Gilbert's pamphlet, but rather considers that he is doing the author a good turn, and at the same time advancing the project of his kinsman, Frobisher, by making public such an excellent argument for the success of the undertaking.

Among the documents which Gilbert had in readiness and of which Gascoigne was an "eyed-witness," was doubtless that fuller study on the North-West Passage with which he had threatened his brother. What would we not give to have it now! Many problems relating to the early voyages to the New World would doubtless be cleared up by it, and much new light shed on these earliest colonization ideas.

Of the other "commendable exercises plainly perfected by his own penne," referred to by Gascoigne, we have left to us an unpublished manuscript entitled *How Hir Mjesty may annoy the King of Spain*, and a treatise called *Queen Elizabeth's Achademy*. It is of the latter we wish first to speak.

The manuscript is preserved in the British Museum in the form in which it was presented to Queen Elizabeth. It has been twice published in recent years, first by Sir H. Ellis in *Archæologia*, and secondly by the Early English Text Society, under the editorship of Dr. Furnivall.

Sir H. Ellis is of opinion that it was presented to Elizabeth in 1570, but with the fuller knowledge we have of Gilbert's history we can be reasonably certain

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SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT. 1584.

that it was one of those studies which occupied his attention during his "loytering vacation from martial stratagemmes" in the years 1573-6.

It may well have elicited Gascoigne's praise, for it is an elaborately prepared scheme for a University, in some respects, even of a wider scope than the magnificent educational institutions of the present day. But while we are principally concerned in educating the masses, Sir Humphrey devoted his attention to the requirements of the classes, "the Queen's Wardes, and others the youth of the nobility and gentry."

It had been a custom from Anglo-Saxon times for Kings and great nobles to receive into their houses the children, both male and female, of relations and friends, in order that they might be trained in courtly manners and receive educational advantages unobtainable in their own homes. In the Royal Court these wards were originally called "Henxmen" or "Henchmen," and were under the control of the Lord Chancellor, who also held the post of Master of Wards.

From the number of treatises on manners and morals written during the sixteenth century, principally intended as a guide to the upbringing of these youths, we gather that the practice was quite a common one. Ben Jonson thus comments on the custom:—

"The noblest way  
Of breeding up our youths in letters, arms,  
Fair mien, discourses, civil exercises,  
And all the blazon of a gentleman—  
Where can he learn to vault, to ride, to fence,  
To move his body gracefuller, to speak  
His language purer, or to turn his mind  
Or manners more to the harmony of nature  
Than in these nurseries of nobility?"

The Early English Text Society collected and republished a number of the treatises above referred to, and issued them under the title of *The Babees Book*, appropriately adopted from the first item contained in it. The pictures given of life in a nobleman's family of

the day are both interesting and amusing. The elementary character of the instructions conveys a very distinct impression of the crudeness of the times. The principal duty of the Wardes was to wait upon their lord's table, and perform other menial offices, in return for which they were trained in all courtly behaviour, and educated after the fashion of the times. Class interest was maintained by this custom; a great noble would by its means obtain a large number of friends and supporters, the tendency of the youths being to continue their allegiance to their protector, even after they had withdrawn from his household.

Many of the treatises are a long series of "DON'TS." "Don't pick your teeth, don't spit over the table, don't gobble your soup, don't speak with your mouth full, don't eat with your knife, and don't dip your meat in the salt-cellar may be taken as examples of the directions thought necessary for proper behaviour at meals.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of the great Lord Bacon, was Master of the Wards in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, and was succeeded in office by Sir William Cecil in 1561. On his retirement he wrote a long letter to Cecil, recommending many changes in the treatment of the Wards. He said: "That the proceeding hath been preposterous appeareth by this; the chief thing the most in price, in Wardship is the wardes mynde; and next to that is his bodie; the last and meanest is his land. Now hitherto the chiefe care of governance hath been to the land, being the meanest; and to the bodie being the better, very small; but the mynde, being the best, none at all; which methinks is plainly to set the carte before the horse." He then suggested a curriculum for them, which, if carried out, would certainly have been efficient, so far as their education was concerned.

Camden states that Cecil succeeded Sir Thomas Parry and not Sir Nicholas Bacon in this office, "which office he discharged, as he did all others, like a good

husband for the Queen and the Wards, very modestly in respect to his private advantages, and not unprofitably for his followers and dependants, though without the least blemish to his integrity." Poor Wards! The management of their affairs must have amounted to a popular scandal, and have been a continual subject of discussion at Court. Sir Nicholas Bacon's recommendations passed unheeded, and no attempt was made by Cecil to remedy the abuses.

Two notable treatises dealing with this subject had just been published in England, Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster*, 1570, and Sir Thomas Hobey's translation of Baldissare Castiglioni's *Cortigiano* or *Courtier*, 1561.

Of the latter William Michael Rossetti says: Castiglioni's ideal Courtier is a truly noble and gallant gentleman, furnished with all sorts of solid no less than splendid qualities. His ultimate *raison d'être* is, that he should always, through good and evil report, tell his sovereign the strict truth of all things which it behoves him to know. The tone throughout is lofty, and of more than conventional or courtly rectitude: indeed the book as a whole is hardly what one associates mentally with the era of Pagan Popes, of a Caesar Borgia just cleared off from Romagne, and an Alessandro di Medici impending over Florence." As such it was an inspiring model for Humphrey Gilbert, who saw his own associates falling so far short of its standard.

Roger Ascham's little masterpiece is a model for schoolmasters for all time. He was moved to write it by hearing, when dining with Lord Burleigh, that some Eton scholars, driven by the cruelty of their masters had run away from college. While he wrote more particularly for "my little children and poor schoolhouse," he also had much to say about the youth of the gentry and nobility. He wished to see the young men "brought up in good order of living, and in some

more severe discipline than commonly they be." . . . "From seven to seventeen young men commonly be carefully enough brought up. But from seventeen to seven-and-twenty, (the most dangerous time of a man's life and the most difficult to stay well in) they have commonly the rein of all license in their own hands, and specially such as do live at Court." . . . "The fault is in yourselves, ye noblemen's sons, and therefore ye deserve the greater blame that commonly the meaner men's children come to be the wisest counsellors and greatest doers in the weighty affairs of this realm." . . . "Therefore ye great and noblemen's children if ye will have rightfully that praise and enjoy surely that place which your fathers have and elders had, and left unto you, ye must keep it as they got it, and that is the only way of virtue, wisdom and worthiness." Again he says: "Yet I hear say some young gentlemen of ours count it their shame to be counted learned; and perchance they count it their shame to be counted honest also, for I hear say that they meddle as little with the one as the other. A marvellous case that gentlemen should be so ashamed of good learning and never a whit ashamed of ill manners."

As has been already related, Humphrey Gilbert in his youth was probably brought under the influence of good old Ascham, and having been a ward himself, the publication of Ascham's little book and his own experiences moved him to suggest a remedy for the gross mismanagement in the upbringing of those unfortunate lads who were deprived of their natural guardians. Ascham deals only with the mental and moral training of the young; Gilbert goes further, and devises a complete scheme, not only for general education, but in addition, for physical training and for practical instruction in every branch of knowledge necessary to fit a young man for the service of his country.

We learn from Gilbert that the custody of these

wards was often deputed to others. As an instance, in 1558, Queen Mary granted "the wardship and marriage" of the son of Sergeant Prideaux to the notorious Thomas Stukely. They were farmed out, and the farmers, seeing a profit in the transaction, were accustomed to pay a *douceur* to the Commissioner for the privilege. Naturally the education of the youths was neglected shamefully. Gilbert says they were "for the most parte brought up in idleness and lascivious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable vertues to their prince and countrey, obscurely drowned in education, of purpose to abase their mindes, leaste, being better qualified, they should disdaine to stoupe to the marriage of such purchasers daughters"!

Gilbert suggested that an Academy should be erected in London for their education, so that "there shall be hereafter no gentleman within this realme but is good for something; whereas now for the most parte of them are good for nothing."

Gilbert went into the matter very thoroughly. He enumerated all the professors, as we would now call them, to be employed, the salaries to be paid them, and the duties they were expected to perform. The first on the list is the "scholemaster" for Latin and Greek, who was to be assisted by two ushers; next in order are a "scholemaster" for Hebrew and another for Logic and Rhetoric. Gilbert pauses here to accentuate the importance of learning to speak one's own language with fluency, to which end, the "choyse of wordes, the buyldinge of sentences, the garnishment of figures, and the other beauties of Oratorie" were to be taught. Oratory he considered a most important accomplishment for those who were bound to do Knight's service. The teaching of this art still leaves much to be desired, at least in English schools.

A teacher of Moral Philosophy was to give instruction in both civil and martial politics, by which means "they shall learn more at home than most old men do

which have travelled furthest abroad." He considered they would learn more wit and policy from these lectures than from "schole learnings, and therefore meetest for the best sorte, to whom it chiefly pertaineth to have the managng of matters of estate and policy." Chaucer is quoted in support of this opinion: "For the greatest schole clerkes are not always the wisest men."<sup>1</sup>

There were to be professors of mathematics and geometry. One of the duties of the latter was to teach the science of artillery, both in theory and practice. All were to be taught "to ride, make ready and handle a horse," and a soldier was to train them in all martial exercises. The Professor of Mathematics was to pay particular attention to teaching the art of navigation with the knowledge of the necessary stars and the use of nautical instruments. The model of a fully rigged ship was to be provided, so that every part thereof should be thoroughly understood.

A Doctor of Physic was to give instruction in what we would call to-day "first aid to the wounded," and was to explain the use of all "simples." He was also to conduct experiments in chemistry, and was particularly directed to give an account of them in plain language, Gilbert's experiences with Meadley no doubt making this latter stipulation seem to him most necessary. So thoroughly was the transmutation of metals believed in, that an Act had been passed in Henry IV's reign making the "Multuplication of metals" or coins a penal offence. Gilbert desired that the professors of the Academy should not be liable to punishment if their experiments proved successful. The Doctor of Physic was not only to deal in medicine, but also to give instructions in surgery, "by reason that Chirurgerie is not now to be learned in any other place than a Barber's

<sup>1</sup> Roger Ascham, in his *Scholemaster*, by the bye, refers to this as a "lewd and spiteful proverb, sounding to the great hurt of learning and shame of learned men."

shoppe, and in that shoppe most dangerous especially in tyme of plague, when the ordinary trimming of men for clenlynes must be done by those which have to do with infected personnes." In this Gilbert showed himself greatly in advance of his age. The association of surgery and medicine was an entirely new idea, and not in fact put in common practice until centuries afterwards.

There was to be a lecturer on Civil Law, and another in Divinity. A lawyer was to teach them the practice of the law,—“it being most necessary that noblemen and gentlemen should learne to be able to put their owne case in law, and to have some judgement in the office of a Justice of Peace and Sheriffe.”

The French, Italian, Spanish and High Dutch languages were to be taught by special instructors.

The lighter arts were not to be neglected, “dauncing and vawting” and music were to be taught, each by its own professor. Nearly all the treatises on education at that time lay great stress upon the teaching of music, although it is not generally mentioned in the curriculum of the grammar schools.

Lastly the youths were to be instructed in that essentially gentlemanly art—heraldry.

A University must necessarily have a library attached, and for the support of this Gilbert asked for the following important decree, that “all printers in England for ever should be charged to deliver to the Library of the Academy, at their own charges, one copy, well bounde, of every booke, proclamacion, or pamphlet that they shall printe.” This suggestion, adopted later for the British Museum Library, has occasioned it to become one of the greatest collection of books the world has known.

The total yearly cost for the upkeep of the Academy was to be £2,966 13s. 4d., or, say, £24,000 of our money, which cannot be considered expensive, seeing the thorough and varied education provided.

In addition to their scholastic duties the professors of the Academy were required to issue a series of publications at stated intervals, embodying the results of their studies and experiments, a plan which is followed by many modern universities. Gilbert's intention was not only that the public should benefit by the learning of the University, but that the glory of the founder should be held in remembrance, which was to be emphasized by a sermon to be preached on the anniversaries of the birth, and ascension to the Throne, of the Virgin Queen.

Gilbert further urged on behalf of his proposal that book learning only was to be obtained at Oxford and Cambridge, and that all gentlemanly accomplishments were entirely neglected there. His dominant idea was to train the youth of the gentry *to be of service to their country*, who "in times past knew nothing but how to hollow a hound or to lure the hawk." Ascham says: "Commonly the young gentlemen of England go unwillingly to school, but run fast to the stable." The State had more interest in education of children than either parents or guardians, therefore attendance at the Academy was to be made compulsory.

He apostrophizes Elizabeth, as the only means of bringing "this seely frozen island into everlasting honour." In the future when the face of an English gentleman appeared it would be known that he was either a soldier, philosopher, or courtier, and "no gentleman within the realm but good for somewhat, whereas nowe, the moste part of them are good for nothinge."

He ends his dissertation with a peroration in his usual lofty style: "Better is it to have Renoune among the good sorte than to be lorde over the whole world. For so shall your Majesty make yourself to live among men for ever and therewithall bring yourself into Godde's favour, so farre as the benefits of goode workes may prevaile."

But Elizabeth must have been getting used to Gilbert's high-flown proposals by that time, and his treatise was most carefully filed away. The niggardliness, which left unpaid and half starved the sailors of the fleet that defeated the Armada, was not likely to expend any such sum on education as Gilbert proposed. A scholar herself, we are not aware that Elizabeth ever evinced any extraordinary desire to educate her people.

But at least the proposition does credit to Gilbert's heart and head. As a writer in a recent number of the *Spectator* says: "It was a scheme fitting a great mind in a great age, when a new sense of responsibility was being called out to meet the new great needs of the time; and it was a scheme worthy the heroic temper of a man determined always to live and die in this mind—that he is not worthy to live at all that for fear, or danger of death, shunneth his country's service and his own honour seeing death is inevitable and the fame of virtue immortal!"

This writer urges the adoption for present day needs of Gilbert's great idea, that the end and aim of education was *the service of the State*, and urges that Patriotism should be included in the curriculum of every school.

It is interesting to note the growing popularity of Empire Day, devoted to the inculcation of this somewhat neglected virtue into the minds of the school children of the Empire, and to find one of the great London dailies quoting Humphrey Gilbert's long forgotten treatise in connection therewith.

Thus Gilbert's work is not entirely lost, and may bear some fruit even at this far-off date.

## CHAPTER VIII

1574-1577

GILBERT now put aside all extraneous occupations, and devoted himself wholly to the great purpose of his life. Ever since his first fruitless attempt to organize an expedition to seek out Cathay, the goal of so many maritime aspirations before and since, he had been maturing his plans for another attempt. Although busily engaged in the service of his Queen and country, we find his master passion asserting itself again and again, well-known geographers and adventurers were sought out and questioned, and his studies in navigation and seamanship steadily pursued. He felt that the time was ripe for another attempt.

The Merchant Adventurers' Company had done nothing to justify their jealous opposition to his original plan. They had maintained their trade with Russia, but had since made no attempt for Cathay, either by the north-east or north-west. But they still pursued their dog in the manger policy, forcing Gilbert to direct his energies to another latitude. As the north-west route was barred to him, he decided to go south, to the temperate zone on the other side of the equator, where he would be free from monopolists. The London merchants and the Merchant Adventurers were not invited to share in this enterprise, it was reserved for his own particular friends and fellow-countrymen of Devon; the close of the negotiations being apparently celebrated by a dinner, which was given to Sir Humphrey and others by the Municipality of Plymouth, the cost of which was duly entered in their records. The plan of the expedition was summed up in a petition to her Majesty dated

## SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT 121

March 22, 1574. It is not signed, but is endorsed as follows—

"Supplicated of certen gents in ye Weste partes for a newe navigacion.

"Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham, Mr. Carlisle, Sir R. Grenville, and others—voiaiges."

Sir George Peckham was a moderate Roman Catholic, a lifelong friend of Gilbert, and an executor of his will. Mr. Carlisle was a son-in-law of Walsingham, and ten years later proposed himself to carry on Gilbert's colonial enterprises; and the brave Sir Richard Grenville, the glorious finish of whose life at "Flores in the Azores" will ever thrill the British heart, was a cousin on the Gilbert side of the house.

On the same day the same "gents of the west parts" solicited the support of the Lord High Admiral in another petition. The first document is a short one. Permission is asked to embark upon an enterprise for the discovery of rich and unknown lands, "Fatally, and as it seemeth by God's providence, reserved for England and for the honour of Your Majesty." The most attractive feature of the petition to the parsimonious Elizabeth was that these adventurous "gents" proposed to fit out the expedition at their own costs and charges. They asked only for her gracious permission to sail, and her blessing. If they were successful, and a new and lucrative trade were developed as the result of their expedition, they asked for a monopoly of the same. The introduction of Christianity and the blazoning abroad of her Majesty's sovereignty and noble virtues were added inducements.

The petition to the Lord High Admiral is much more explicit. The preamble asks that he would take the affair into his protection and commend the same to her Majesty. The details of the enterprise are then specified under the following heads:—

"The matter hitself that has offred to be attempted.

"That hit is feasible.

"What means we have commodiously to atchieve it.

"The commodities to grow of hit.

"An answer to such difficulties and matters as may be objected.

"That there is no injurie offred to any Prince or Contrey or an offence of amitie."

"The offre for performance thereof w<sup>th</sup>oute Her Majesty's charge or adventure."

The countries which they designed to explore lay to the south of the equator, beyond any then occupied by either Spain or Portugal, where the climate was similar to that of England. They claimed to have ships of their own well prepared, and English mariners and sailors to whom the way thither *almost* was already known. This is an interesting statement, as at that time English mariners are not recorded as having been further south than the West Indies and the Spanish Main. The advantage of trading to a country of like climate to England would be that English cloths would find a ready sale there. As the Portuguese had monopolized the East, the Spaniards the West, and the French the North, the South only was left for the English, to whom in times past all the others had been first offered. The writers refer, no doubt, to the offer said to have been made by Columbus to Henry VII; they also appear to ignore the title of England to the north parts by reason of Cabot's discovery. They dilated on the advantages which would accrue to England from the increase of navigation, the importation of gold, silver, and spices direct, instead of through Spain, the employment of the idle populace in the manufacture of goods to be exported, and the introduction of Christianity "without the errors of papistry."

To the objections which they imagined would be offered, probably, the result of controversies with the faint-hearted, they boasted that they would be strong enough to withstand any attacks from the Spaniards or Portuguese, and besides they did not intend to enter

their ports, but to continue south to the temperate zones. As to the dispeopling of England, was not England overrun with people who could not be supported and were driven to commit crimes, for which they were daily executed? Instead of causing the waste or decay of mariners and shipping, these distant voyages would occasion a great development of the merchant marine; it was absurd to say that these mariners might be absent on distant voyages when they might be urgently needed at home, for in that case they had better not go out of English waters at all.

They had no intention of touching at Spanish or Portuguese possessions except in the way of friendly traffic, the principle of which had been already admitted in the case of Hawkins. Not only had traffic been permitted, but possession and planting of people also, as in the case of Stukely, who pretended that he was going to Florida. The French, although acknowledging the authority of the Pope, had not hesitated to attempt colonization in both Florida and Brazil; it was therefore hardly to be expected that other nations, not acknowledging the Pope, and not parties to the agreement, should be bound by his decision.

The petitioners intended to fit out for the expedition four ships at a cost of £5000.

All they asked from the Queen was permission to make the voyage, exclusive privileges of trade with the countries discovered, and 'specialle orders to be appointed by Her Majestie for the stablishing of Her Majestie's dominion and amitie in such places as they shall arrive unto."

Nothing more is heard of these petitions. It is possible that Elizabeth refused her consent at the instance of Spain; it is possible that the petitioners themselves were not able to put their intention into practice. Just at this time also Frobisher began to agitate for a voyage towards Cathay by the north-east. As we have heard, he had been associated with Gilbert in Ireland,

and probably imbibed some of his enthusiasm for discovery.

We learn, from a letter written by Michael Lok, in the latter part of 1576 or early 1577, that in 1574, the Privy Council wrote to the Muscovy Company, suggesting that it was time for them to attempt again to find the north-east passage to Cathay, and recommending Frobisher for the purpose. The Company took the matter into consideration but came to no decision. Frobisher then obtained another letter from the Queen, or Privy Council, calling upon the Company either to undertake the enterprise themselves or to grant him permission to do so. During the controversy he changed the direction of his plan from the north-east to the north-west. It has been generally asserted that the publication of Gilbert's *Discourse of a N.W. Passage* occasioned Frobisher's voyage, but as the publication took place in May, and Frobisher started a few weeks afterward, the statement requires qualification. Lok distinctly disclaims it. He made Gilbert's acquaintance at Easter 1575, and learned that he had been for many years "a great good willer to the enterprise." He grants that the object of the publication of the *Discourse* was the encouragement of the voyage, "although to say the truth without giving offence, neither that ~~book~~, coming out so late, nor his former discourses" were the origin of the expedition, which had been decided on long before.

This was Lok's point of view. But considering the previous friendship of Gilbert and Frobisher, and that Gascoigne borrowed Gilbert's treatise because his kinsman Frobisher was contemplating a like enterprise, it is reasonable to conclude that Gilbert largely influenced both the inception and direction of Frobisher's voyages. Gascoigne would undoubtedly have at once shown the *Discourse* to Frobisher, or that the latter had already seen it, for it is more than probable that he was early in consultation with Gilbert.

Gilbert was a member of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, and he was one of the subscribers to, or "adventurers" in Frobisher's expedition. There was therefore no jealousy, but, on the contrary, suggestion, advice, and pecuniary assistance. Frobisher's voyages can be reasonably said to have been the outcome of Gilbert's agitation. The mere attempt by Lok to disprove it shows there was at the time a tendency to give him the credit of starting the enterprise.

Camden gives the whole merit of the idea to Gilbert. He says: "At this time some studious heads, moved with a commendable desire to discover the more remote regions of the World and the secrets of the Ocean, put forward some well moneyed men, no less desirous to reap profit by it, to discover whether there were any Strait in the north part of America, through which men might sail to the nigh country of Cathay, and so the wealth of the East and West might be conjoined by a mutual commerce. These learned men argued, etc." He then quotes largely from Gilbert's *Discourse*, without, however, mentioning it by name; and finally gives a short account of Frobisher's expeditions. Cause and effect could not be clearer shown.

It is curious to note that the opponents of colonization argued that, by it, England would be denuded of her population, and that those who were in favour of it urged, on the other hand, that it would relieve England from pauperism and overcrowding. The latter theory was originated by Gilbert in his *Discourse*, and, strangely enough, it seems gradually to have outweighed the contrary argument. It was used with much effect by the colony planters of the early seventeenth century.

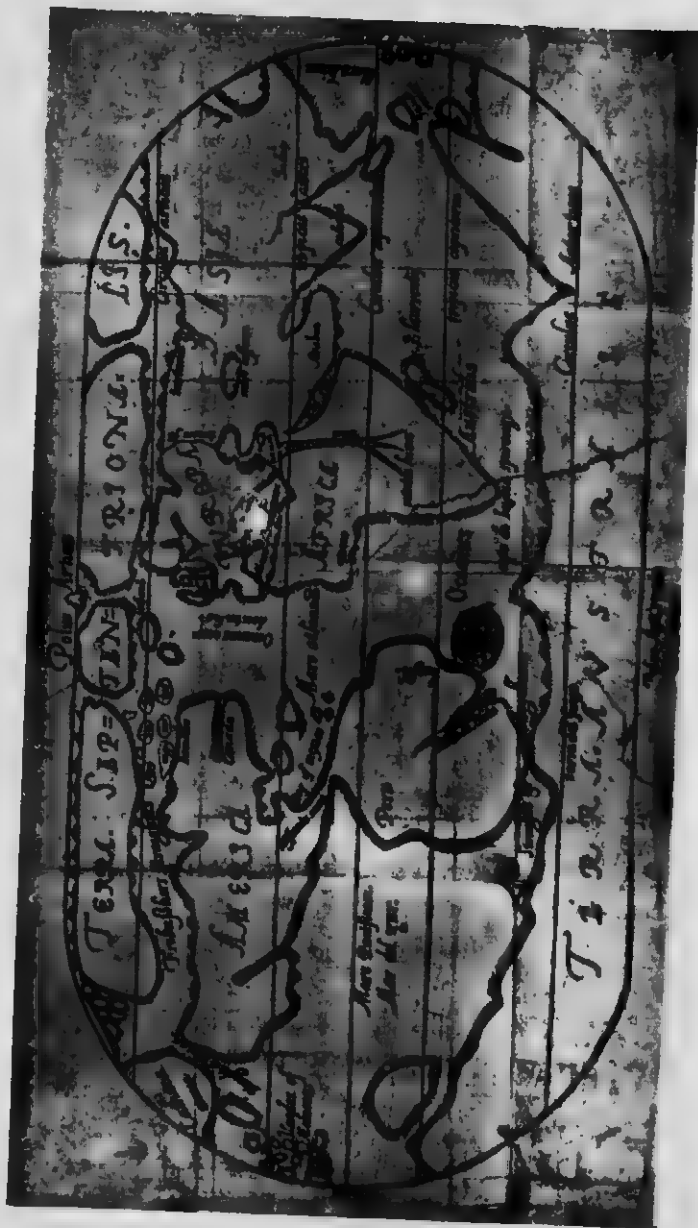
The fear of Spain and the authority of the Pope were still matters for mighty consideration, and Gilbert and his associates found it necessary to assemble arguments to prove that neither one nor the other should be regarded. The Popes' division of the world between

Spain and Portugal no doubt greatly retarded foreign adventure while England was Catholic, but to Protestant England it was *une quantité négligeable*. And as for Spain, had not Hawkins already bearded her in her most treasured stronghold?

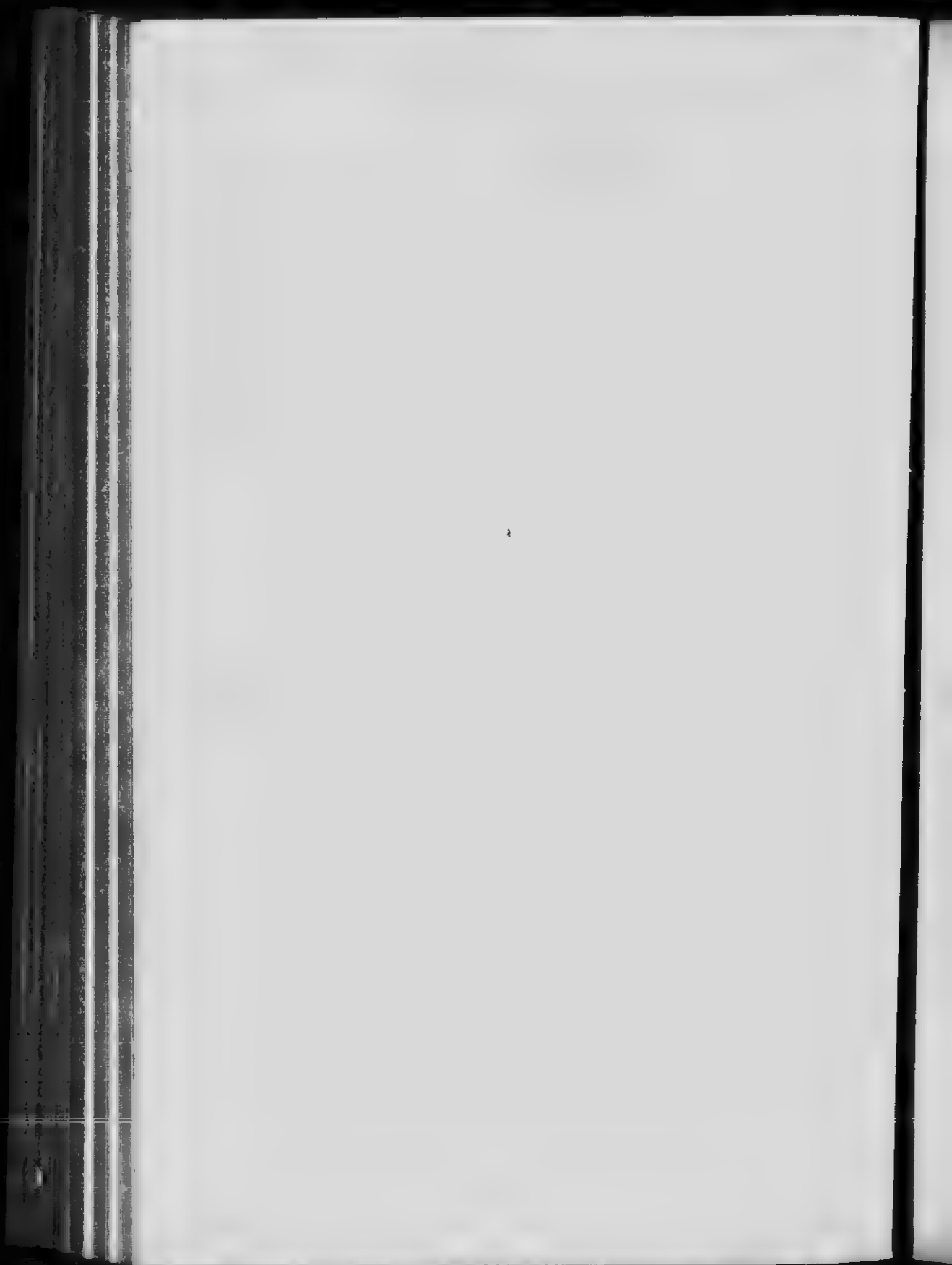
The proposed enterprise required both moral and physical courage, and with these attributes the West Countrymen were well endowed.

No. 1, Vol. I, of the State Papers, Colonial Series, is entitled, "Pointes sett down by the Committee appointed to confer with Mr. Carlisle, etc.," and the date of 1574 is attributed to it. The editor thought it to be a commentary upon the petition of Gilbert, which we have just been considering. This is, however, an error. The paper appears in Hakluyt's *Voyages* under its proper date of 1583, and is a reply to a petition of Carlisle of the same period. It is rather a pity that the Colonial State Papers should have begun with an error.

Frobisher's voyage in 1576 attracted a great deal of attention, not only because it appeared to support the theory of a North-West Passage to Cathay, but also because of the accidental finding of a piece of gold ore which "kindled a great opinion in the heartes of many to advance the voyage again." A company was formed with the ambitious title of "The Company of Kathai," in which the Queen, Lord Burleigh, Walsingham, Leicester, and many notable lords and ladies of the Court became "venturers." Of the success, or rather the failure of Frobisher's voyages we are not particularly concerned. The acquisition of "gold ore" far outweighed the desire to discover the North-West Passage, and to this vice of greed was attributed at the time the failure to find the passage. The stones with which they freighted their vessels, Camden says, "when neither gold nor silver nor any other metal could be extracted from them, we have seen cast forth to mend the highways."



MAP ILLUSTRATING FROBISHER'S VOYAGE. 1578.



One part of the plan for Frobisher's last voyage seems particularly to betray the hand of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. It was designed that 100 men should be left in *Meta Incognita* to inhabit and possess the land, to form an outpost on the pathway to Cathay, and to guard the mines already found. A timber house was taken, all ready to be set up, and it was arranged for 100 men under the leadership of Capt. Fenton to remain over the winter. But Frobisher found it impossible to carry out this intention. So much of the provision for the fleet was destroyed by leakage, that the provisions which had been intended for this little colony had to be taken for the voyage home. The timber for the house, and the coal were landed. Remains of the latter were found by Capt. Hall in 1865 on an island in Frobisher's Straits, called by the Eskimos "*Kodlunarn*," or white man's island, thus showing that the tradition had remained for nearly 300 years.

The next document to engage our attention is preserved at the State Paper Office, and is endorsed "A discourse How Hir Majesty may annoy the King of Spayne, November 6, 1577." A signature appears at the end, which has been much defaced, but can yet be made out as "H. GYLBERTE." A doubt has therefore been raised as to the authorship. Froude considers it to have been written by some "inspired old sea dog," but makes no attempt to decide who. Others have attributed it to Hawkins. There seems, however, to be but little doubt that the signature which has been erased denotes the real authorship. It is not in Gilbert's handwriting, but the matter, the style, and the succeeding events all point to Gilbert as the author. We can be sure that the erasure was not made by the author, who could have had no possible object in concealing his identity from the Queen and Council. Reasons will be advanced later which will probably account for the action. It is to be noted also that the signature, so far as it can be made out, is "H. GYLBERTE," which is

the way Sir Humphrey always spelt his name, while others spelt it in almost every other possible way except this.

The use of the word "annoy" in the title seems almost humorous when we consider the nature of the proposed "annoyance."

The writer apologizes for touching upon affairs of State, as he is but a "syllie member" of the Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup>

"But, in their country's service the meanest and simplest ought not to yeild themselves second to the wisest and best.

"And so to the matter."

He pointed out that England's policy differed greatly from that of the Continental Powers, and he would therefore "spyn a thread propper for our English loomes."

If England were to endure as a nation she must command the sea. This "inspired old sea dog" saw as clearly as our modern publicists that England's safety, nay, her very existence, depended upon her being powerful enough at sea to ward off any blow that might be directed at her. But in opposition to our modern ideas he held that to compass this safety it was as necessary to cripple the enemy as to strengthen oneself. He said: "I hold it as lawful in christian policie to prevent a mischief betimes as to reveng it to late." Was not the malicious disposition of England's arch-enemy, Spain, manifestly seen? It was folly to wait until the enemy had matured his plans and was ready to attack you. Take every advantage you can and attack him first before he accomplishes your undoing.

Elizabeth is adjured to seek God's kingdom and to treat as "Mermayde's songs and sweet poisons" the advances of those of a different religion, for no assur-

<sup>1</sup> The word "syllie" is used in the sense of humble, or rude; in which sense it is also used in *Queen Elizabeth's Academy*.

ance could be placed in such leagues. "It is more than tyme to pare their nayles to the stumpes, that are most ready prest to pluck the crown from your highnes head." Therefore, all Papists and suspected adherents of England's enemies should be quietly and firmly suppressed. Then, before they can get breath, a swift and deadly blow must be struck at the naval power of Spain.

The scheme now proposed would hardly recommend itself to modern politicians, but then no doubt it seemed quite in order. Under colour of Letters Patent for the discovery and inhabiting of St. Lawrence Island, the countries in the north lately discovered by Frobisher, or elsewhere, a fleet was to be prepared which should sail for "N.L." (meaning, of course, Newfoundland). There, every summer, were assembled large numbers of fishing vessels from Spain, Portugal, and France. While the fleets were scattered and the men away fishing, these vessels were to be taken piecemeal. The best were to be brought back and the poorest destroyed. We are left to guess what was to be done to the unfortunate fishermen. The measure which the Spaniards meted out to the crews of Hawkins's fleet was no doubt to be measured to them again. If not actually slain in the encounter, they would have been left to provide for themselves in a desolate and uninhabited country, where they would be powerless to help their country's navy. The Spaniards and Portuguese were to be particularly selected for attack, the French to be spared as far as possible. The writer proposed to undertake this fell design without any cost to her Majesty; indeed, he expected to make considerable profit, for the Newfoundland fish, cautiously indicated by two letters, "N.F.," "is a principal and rich and everywhere vendible merchandise, and by the gayne thereof, shipping, victuall, munition, and the transporting of five or six thousand soldiers may be defrayed."

The captured vessels were to be taken into Holland or Ireland, or, masquerading as pirates, they were to

harbour in some unfrequented part of Her Majesty's coasts, under the protection of some friendly Vice-Admiral, where six months' provision of food and four of drink were to be stored ready for their return.

Gilbert had profited by his experience in the Low Countries, and in excuse for this covert attack upon a country with whom England was nominally at peace, suggested that the Queen and Council should disclaim any knowledge of it. So far as they were concerned it was a colonization enterprise, and the friendly Vice-Admiral, who was to shelter them, was to be made the scapegoat and "afterwards committed to prison as in displeasure of the same."

Gilbert knew his Queen well,—no expense and much gain, a blow at her enemies and no blame;—a better scheme couldn't have been devised.

If it were feared that this attack would end in breaking off commercial relations with Spain and Portugal, and the price of tropical commodities thereby enhanced, it was proposed to follow up the attack. With the profits of the first enterprise an expedition was to be immediately fitted out for the "W.I." The "S" were to be driven out, and the country subdued to the Crown of England. "By which meanes your Majesty's doubtfull frendes or rather apparaunt enemyes shall not only be made weake and poor, but therewith yourself and your realme made strong and riche, both by sea and lande, as well there as here."

When the enemy's shipping was destroyed and no means left them to maintain shipping, then "of force this realme being an Island shalbe discharged from all forraine perills, if all the Monarchies of the world should join against us." He then prophetically sees England "Mistress of the Seas," and none able to cross them without her permission.

If the Queen approves of the enterprise, he will then give full particulars for the attack on the "W.I."

The "Discourse" then closes, in Gilbert's usual style, with an impassioned and poetic appeal: "But if your

Majesty like to do it at all, then would I wish your Highness to consider that delay doth often tymes prevent the performauce of good thinges; for the winges of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death. And so submitting my self to your Majestis favourable judgement, I cease to trouble your highness any further. Novembris 6, 1577.

"Your Mates. most faithful  
"Servaunte and subject."

Connected with the above is another paper also bearing the title, "A Discourse how her Maiestie may meete with and annoy the King of Spaine." It is apparently intended to supplement the former, and gives particulars of the attack upon the West Indies, which he had advocated.

The enormities of the Church of Rome and the horrors of the Inquisition are dilated upon. England would certainly be attacked as soon as the time arrived, but the King of Spain must be taught that peace at any price would be better for him than war with England—a sentiment which, extraordinarily enough, was afterwards voiced by the well-known Spanish proverb, "*Con todo el mundo guerra, y paz con Inglaterra.*" A description then follows of Cuba and Hispaniola, which could be taken with but little risk; in addition, a fleet could be sent to the Bermudas, and from that coign of vantage pounce upon the returning Spanish galleons. The West Indies was Spain's most vulnerable point, and a blow struck there would be felt more seriously than elsewhere. Let England attack the West Indies, and the King of Spain would have little heart for making trouble in Europe.

On the day that the first "Discourse" was signed, Nov. 6, 1577, Sir Humphrey Gilbert had an interview with Dr. Dee at Mortlake. This interesting personage, scientist, astrologer, and alchemist, was greatly interested in the nautical enterprises of the day, and was consulted by many of the voyagers, but whether in pursuit of

information or to get their horoscopes cast, is open to question. No significance attached to the visit noted above, so far as can be ascertained, but another entry in Dr. Dee's Diary, under date August 5, 1578, is of considerable importance, as will be seen later.

The style of these "Discourses" is unmistakably Gilbert's; the suggestion that a patent for colonization should be used as a subterfuge, also points to him as the author. He was the only one at that time who had any idea of colonization, and he no doubt intended the plan he proposed as an extra inducement for the issuance of his Patent. That the Queen should disclaim all knowledge of the attack on the Newfoundland fishing fleets is a lesson that Gilbert had learned in Holland, to his sorrow. If the plan were to succeed, it must be kept an inviolable secret, hence the rather futile device of indicating important places by letters only. After it had been received and studied by the Council it was even thought desirable that Gilbert's name should be erased. Spain had spies everywhere and watched every move.

A few months afterward the long-looked-for Letters Patent were granted, ostensibly for colonization only; and as soon as possible he departed with a powerful fleet, the most important that had ever sailed from England; but its constitution was hardly that of a colonizing expedition; its preparation had been hurried, and its destination and movements were so carefully concealed that it is difficult now to learn anything about them. As to the destination, the only hint we have is the entry in Dr. Dee's Diary above referred to. It reads: "Mr. Reynolds of Bridewell tok his leave of me as he passed toward Dartmouth to go with Sir Umfrey Gilbert toward Hocheleya." It will be remembered that in the "Discourse," St. Lawrence Island is suggested as the destination of the pretended colonization expedition.

The connection between these "Discourses" and Gilbert's Letters Patent seems to be clearly established, but in the Letters Patent, now to be considered, there is no hint of any such purpose as is displayed by the "Discourses";

on the contrary, piracy, or any attack upon the ships or territory of a friendly prince, is forbidden with suspicious insistence, considering the practice of the times.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII

"A Discourse how hir Maistie may annoy  
"the Ki. of Spayne.

"Nov. 6th, 1577.

"I am bowld (most excellent Soueraigne) to exercise my pen touching matters of state, because I am a syllie member of this Comon Weale of England, and doe not offer myself therein as an Instructor, or a reformer, but as a Welwiller to yo Mstie. and my Countrie, wherein the meanest or simplest ought not to yeeld them selves second to the best, or wisest. In wch. respect I hope to be pdoned, if through want of judgement I be mistaken herein. And so to the matter.

"The safety of Principates, Monarchies, and Comon Weales rest chiefly on making theire enemies weake, and poore, and themselves strong and rich. Both wch. god hath specially wrought for yor. maties. safety, if yor. highness shall not overpas good opportunities for the same, when they are offered. For yor. neighbors. infelicities through civill warres, hath weakened and impoverished them both by sea, and land, And hath strengthened yor. Mates. Realme, both by throne, and thother, wch. thinge is so manyfest, that it weare more then in vayne, to go about to prove the same, And for that this yor. Mates. Realme of England requireth other consideracons then those wch. are of ther continent, I will omitt them, and *spyn a threed propper for o' English loomes*. First yo' highnes owght undoubtedly to seeke the kingdome of heaven, and upon that foun-dacon to beleewe that there can never be constant, and firme league of amytie betwene those princes, whose

division is planted by the woorme of thier conscience. So that their leagues and jayre wordes, ought to be held but as *Mermaydes songes, sweete poysons*, or *macquesites*, that abuse wth. outward plawsabilytie, and gay shoves. For in troth as in such leagues there is no assurance, so Christian princes ought not for any respect to combyne them selves in amytie, wth. such as are at open and professed warres wth. god himselfe. For *non est consilium omnino contra Deum*. So that no state or comon weale can florishe, where the first and principall care is not for goddes glorie, and for thadvancing of the pollisies of his spirituall kingdom, wch. done, yo' matie. is to think that it is more then tyme to pare their nayles by the stumpes, that are most readie prest to pluck the crowne (as it were in despite of god) from yo' highnes head, not only by foraine force; but also by stirring up of home factions. And therefore the best waie is first to purge, or at least wise to redresse yo' owne kingdome of their suspected adherentes, I meane not by banishment, or by fire, and sworde, but by dimynishing their habilities by purse, creditt and force. Then to forsee by all diligente meanes, that yo' suspected neighbors may not have opportunity to recover breath whereby to repayre their decayed losses; which for yo' safetie is principally to be don, by the farther weakening of their navies, and by p'serving and increasing of yo' owne.

"And the deminishing of their forces by sea is to be done eyther by open hostilitye, or by some colorable meanes; as by geving of lycence under lres. patentcs to *discover and inhabyte some stranne place*, wth. speciall proviso for their safetyes whome pollisy requyareth to have most anoyed by which means the doing of the contrarie shalbe imputed to the executors fawlt; yo' highnes lres. patentcs being a manyfest shew that it was not yo' Mates pleasure so to have it. After the publick notyse of wch. in fact, yo' Matie is either to avowe the same (if by the event thereof it shall so seme good) or to disavowe both them and the fact. as league breakers,

leaving them to pretend yt as done wthout yo' privitie, either in the service of the prince of Orange or otherwise.

"This cloake being had for the raigne, the way to worke the feate is to sett forth under such like colour of discoverie, certayne shippes of warre to the N.L. wch. wth. yo' good licence I will undertake wthout yo' Maties. charge; in wch. place they shall certaynely once in the yeere meete in effecte all the great shipping of France, Spayne, and Portyngall, where I would haue take and bring awaye wth. these fraygthes and ladinges the best of those shippes and to burne the worst, and those that they take to carrie into Holland or Zeland, or as pirattes to shrowd them selves for a small time uppon yo' Mastes' coastes, under the friendship of come certayne vice-admirall of this Realme, who may be afterwarde committed to prison, as in displeasure for the same, against whose returnes, six months provision of bread, and fower of drinck to be layd in some apt place: together with municion to serve for the number of five or six thousand men, wch. men wth. certaine other shippes of warr being in a readynes, shall p'tend to inhabit St. Lawrence Island, the late discovered Contries in the North, or elsewhere, and not to ioine wth. the others but in some certaine remote place at sea.

"The setting forth of shipping for this service will amounte to no great matter, and the returne shall certainly be wth. great gayne, for the N.F. is a principall and rich and everie where vendible merchandise: and by the gayne thereof, shipping, victuall, munition, and the transporting of five or six thousand soldiers may be defrayed.

"It may be sayd that a fewe shippes cannot possibilie distres so many: and that although by this service yow take or destroy all the shipping you find of theirs in those places: yet are they but subiectes shippes, their owne p'ticular navies being nothing lesoned thereby, and therefore their forces shall not so much be diminyshed, as yt is supposed, whereunto I answer:—

"There is no doubt to perform it without danger. For although they may be many in number, and great of burthen, yet are they furnished with men, and munition, but like fishers, and when they come upon the coastes, they do awaies disperse them selves into sundry portes, and do disbarke the most of their people into small boates for the taking, and drying of their fish, leauing fewe or none abore their shippes, so that there is as little doubt of the easie taking and carrying of them away: as of the decaying hereby of those princes forces by sea. For their owne proper shippings are very fewe, and of small forces in respect of the others, and thiere subiectes shipping being once destroyed yt is likely that they will never be repaired, partly through the decaye of the owners, and p'tly through the losses of the trades whereby they mainteyned the same. For euerie man that is hable to build shippes doth not dispose his wealth that waye, so that their shipping being once spoyled, yt is likely that they will neuer be recouered to the like number and strength, but if they should, yt will require a long time to season timber for that purpose, all wch. space we shall have good opportunity to proceed in our farther enterprises. And all the meanetyme the foresayd princes shall not only be disapointed of their forces as aforesayd, but also lesse great revenues, whch. by traffick they formerly gayned; and shall therewithall endure great famine for want of such necessarie victualles &ces. as they former enioyed by those voyages.

"It may also be obiected that although this may be done in act, yet is it not allowable, being against yo' Mates. league, for although by the reach of reason mens les may be obscured, yet unto God nothing is hidden, wch. I answer thus:—

"I hold it as lawfull in Christian pollicie to p'vent a mischief betimes: as to reveng it to late, especiallie seing that god him selfe is a party in the common quarrells now a foote, and his enemy malitiose disposition towards yo' highnes, and his church mani-

festlie seen although by godes mercifull providence not yet thoroughlie felt.

"Further it may be saide that if this should be done by Englishmen under what colour soever they should shrowd themselves, yet will that cut us of from all trafficke wth those that shalbe annoyed by such meanes; and thereby utterlie undoe the state of merchandise, decay the mayntenance of the shipping of this Realme and also greatly diminishe yo' mates' customes to which I replie thus:—

"To p'vent these danngers (that although yo' highnes may at the first distres both the French, Spanysh, and Portengall yet there needeth none to be towched but the Spaniardes, and Portengall, or the Spaniards alone) by the want of whose trafficke there is no necessity of such decaye and losses as p'tly appeared by the late restraunte betwene yo' Mastie and them. And the forces of the Spaniards, and Portingalls, being there so much decayed as aforesaid; The French of necessitie shalbe brought under your highnes lye assuring yo' mastie the case being as it is, it were better a thousand folde thus to gayne the start of them, rather then yerely to submitt o' selves subiect to have all the merchanntes shippes of this Realme stayed in their handes; whereby they shal be armed at our costes, to beate us with roddes of our owne making, and ourselves thereby spoyled both of our owne wealth and strength.

"And touching the contynuance of traffick wherewith to increase and maintaine our shipping, and yo' mates revenues, and also to provide that the prices of sotherne wares shall not be inhannced to the detriment of the Comon Weale there may be good meanes found for the p'venting thereof, as hereafter followeth:—

"It is true if we shold indure the losse of those trades, and not recover those commodities by some other meanes, that then yo' Matie might be both hindred in shippinge, and customes, to the great decaie of the Comon Weale.

"But if yo' highnes will permit me with my associates

eyther overtly or covertly to perfourme the aforesaide enterprise: then with the gayne thereof there may be easely such a competent companie transported to the W.I. as may be hable not only to dispossesse the S. thereof, but also to possesse for ever yo' Matie and Realme therewth, and thereby not only be countervaille, but by farr to surmount wth gaine, the aforesaid supposed losses: besides the gowld and silver mynes, the profit of the soyle, and the inward and outward customs from thence, By wch meanes yo' highnes doubtfull frendes, or rather apparante enemyes shall not be only made weake and poore, but therewth yo' selfe, and Realme made strong and rich, both by sea, and by lande, as well there, as here, and where both is wrought under one, it bringeth a most happy conclusion, So that if this may be well brought to passe (where of there is no doubt), then have we hitt the mark we shott at, and wonn the goale of our securities to the imortall fame of yo' Matie, For when yo' enemyes shall not have shipping, nor meanes left them wherby to maintayne shipping to annoyne yo' Matie nor your subiectes be any longer enforced for want of other trades to submitt themselves to the dannger of their arrestes, then of force this Realme being an Island shalbe discharged from all forraine y'ills if all the Monarchies of the world should ioyne against us, so long as Ireland shal be in safe keping, the league of Scotland maintayned, and further amitie concluded with the prince of Orange, and the King of Denmark. By wch. meanes also yo' matie shall ingraffe and glewe to yo' crowne, in effect all the Northerne and Sotherne viages of the World, so that none shalbe then well hable to crosse the seas, but subiect to yo' highnes devocion: considering the great increase of shippinge that will growe, and be mayntayned by those long vyages, extending them selves so many sundrie wayes. And if I may p'ceave that yo' highnes shall like of this enterprise, then will I most willinglie expresse my simple opinion, wch. waye the W.I. maye without difficultie be more surprised, and defended

without wch resolution it were but labor lost, Bt if yo'  
Matie like to do it at all, then wold I wish yo' highnes  
to consider that delay doth often tymes prevent the  
p'fourmaunce of good thinges: for the Winges of mans  
life, are plumed with the feathers of Death. And so  
submitting my selfe to yo' Maties favourable iudgement  
I cease to trouble yo' highnes any further.

Nouembris: 6. 1577.

"Yo' Maties most faithfull

"servannt and subiect."

Copy of note inserted in the Calendar of State Papers:

"This has been signed, but the signature has been  
obliterated with a pen. It is, however, conjectured to be  
H. GYLBERTE. In the following year Sir Humfrey  
Gylberte received a patent for the occupation and settle-  
ment of Newfoundland."

"A Discourse hoe hir Matie may meete with  
"and annoy the K. of Spayne.

"It is most certaine and true that the king of Spayne  
is wholie addicted to the Pope, and is the chiefe mayn-  
tainer of the Romish religion, and so hath sworne divers  
and sundry tymes to mayntayne the Church of Rome to  
the uttermost of his power, and thereby an enemie to all  
others that be not of the same religion, Also the whole  
troupe of Papists have reposed theire assured trust and  
confidence in him, and so aret hoping for a daie to  
serve theire turne, wherefore so long as they be of that  
religion and we of ours there can be betwene us and  
them no good friendship.

"Also in like manner the Clergie of Spaine with the

holye Inquisitores, finding them selves to have such power in matters of religion as they have both ou the king and all his subiectes, do not forget what they haue to do in defence of their quarrell, wherein wth all diligence like carefull persons losing no tyme that may serue for their purpose they execute the same to the losse both of lyfe and goodes of diuers strangeres trading into those Countries, without regard of any league or amitie of any religious prince whatsoever.

"In like manner in all the dominions of the king of Spaine, where the sayd Inquisitores and Clergie do and may rule, the labour wth all diligence to make the people beleve that only their religion is the thing that most pleaseth God, and that all other religions be abhominable heresies whereby the people are brought to hold us to be worse then Turkes, and that they may wth a goode conscience do to us any harme as to a Turke or Sarasen, assuringe themselves that in so doing they do God good service: Thus theise men, having this rooted in their harts supersticion and false religion, must neades hate us that seeke to advannce only the sincere and pure religion of god according to his holy worde.

"Item also it is right well knowne that the Queenes Mate. is the chief head of the Church of Christ and so an enemye to the Church of Rome, whereby it is certaine that the king of Spaine wth all those of his affinitie must neades be enemyes to the Queenes Matie and the realme of England. And it is most certayne if any time may serue them they will execute their malice to the uttermoste of their power, without any regard or respect of friendship p'mysed, so that it is right neadefull to p'vide before hand howe to be in a redines to withstand their great malice and hatred. And although that the p'sent necessity may breade some cloaked meanes of friendship, yet this cankered sore must neades rype and breake foorth to some great harme, happen it where and when it will, unles god alter the matter, the wch he maye when it pleaseth him, as it is most truly sayd man proposeth and god disposeth. It is godes will that men do their best

in all good causes, and then he will do the rest that they cannot p'fourme to withstand so great enemies, and especiallie those that be meerely against the trewe religion of god as the Spainiarden be.

"Item, who seeth not howe severe they be in Spaine in the gou'ment and maintenannce of the matters of their religion and how loose and careles we be in the mayntenance of ours? It is therefore to be looked for whether of those two is likeliest by mans reason to p'vayle. The same doth breed great cause to put this matter in question to feare the sequell and to p'vide for the same.

"Nowe these matters considered, it is good cause to p'vide before hand howe and by what meanes such and so great a prince as the king of Spaine is, with all the whole troupe of the Catholicks may best be withstood and most endamaged with least charges to the Queenes Matie, and most assurannce to the realme if at tyme he shall move warr to the Queenes Matie, as by all the reasons before alledged doth appeare that it is to be doubted he will. Therefore, according to my dutie and to the best of my poore knowledg, I do shewe hereafter following by what meanes the king of Spaine may be brought to knowe that any kinde of peace shalbe better for him then warres with England.

"Although I knowe my self to be most unhable to take upon me to set forth such matter as I have p'mised in such good order as it ought to be, to shewe by what meanes the Queenes Matie may not only withstand the king of Spayne if her grace be thereunto constraind but also mightely endamage him, yet for so much as I have p'mysed the same, and as it is well knowne my long travell into diuers Countries of dutie ought to render some benefitt to this Countrie maketh me the bolder to take this in hand, and specially because yo' honor I trust will accept my good will and p'don this my plaine manner of writing. And thus coming to the matter that is p'mysed, I doe find that there is two waies in especiall by the wch this may be done: The same is to deale with the king of Spaine in this West

Indias, the wch landes is more esteemed of him then any other that he possesseth els where, and there he is weakest and leste hable to ayde when any neade requireth, and for the Queene's Matie nothing more easier or better to deale withall then that place, sth leste charges and most assurannce and not certayne the least of both theise wayes will so trouble him and utterly overthrowe his trades into theise partes as hetherto the like hath not been done, nor by any other meanes that I knowe can be don.

"The first way by wch this may be done is to send a power of men and Shippes to the Iland called Hispaniola, otherwise Sancta Domingo, and the Iland of Cuba, wch be ioyned both together, and to set the men a land and to take both the Ilands, wch may easely be done, because there is but fewe people in them both, and those that be there, be only in the port townes by the sea side, and, wthin the land is fewe people, or none at all. This being done, the place is such that hardly any power can remoue them, and the places be such, as it may let all the traude of the king of Spaine into the Indias, and thus the sayd company being set a land restes to be showed howe they may be p'vided of victualls for the tyme of their continuannce there if it shalbe found neadfull to be so, the wch. is as hereafter followeth :—

"First there is in the sayd Iland of Hispaniola great abundance of Cattell of all manner of sortes, so that there can be no lack of flesh to eate nor of good fish in the Rivers and in the Sea, were the Company never so many nor nev' so great.

"Item, for bread there is a roote called Juca, of the wch is made good bread called Casserby, verie good as they do use it, and sufficient to serue at all times for any number of people that may go thither.

"Item, there is a great number of excellent good horses of the breede of the Jennettes of Spaine, and sufficient of number to serue and it be for fve or six thousand men, only they must carry saddells and bridells

with them wth other furniture, for as for horses there can be no lack of them.

"Item, in the said Iland is great store of Mynes of fyne gold, and in the Riuers is much found; There is no better in the whole Indias and in great quantity, so that being by skillfull men sought it will not only countervaille all charges, but also yield great treasures so long as the same is kept in the possession of whome soew' it be.

"Item, there is great quantytie of sugers that many tymes and yeerely there are great shippes laden of iii/ or v tonn a peece wch goeth daylie for Spaine, and from thence laden to div's places of Christendome.

"Item, there is in the sayd Iland great number of Negros, called in English Motions, that some tyme were slaves and haue ronn away from their mes, and do dwell in many places of the Iland and haue wiues and children and be valiant men; theise will gladly receave ayde and libertie, and so they may be brought to do great service and be most desirous to finde such an occasion.

"Item, in the sayd Iland is a Cittie named Santam Domingo, by the wch name the sayd Iland is most commonly called; it is of no great strength, nor the people of no great knowledge howe to defend, nor of any great number. There is also a fewe Spanyardes in other portes of the said Iland but of no force, and wthin the land there is no place inhabited wth Spaniardes. The saide Iland is one of the best in those partes of the world in abundance of all thinges.

"The land of Cuba is a very healthfull and fertill Iland. There is in the saide Iland great abundannce of Cattle of all manner of sortes sufficient for a great number of men, and for bread the said Cassaby and a grayne called Maies wch. makes good bread; there is also great plenty of great hennes and div's other fowles wth plentie of fish both in the sea and in the Riuers. There is also many good mynes of div's sortes of Mettalles as Copper leade and silver, good portes for Shippes.

The second waie by wch the king of Spaine may mightely be troubled when neade shall requier is by taking of the fleetes that comes out of the Ilandes homewardes for Spaine, in the wch cometh all the kinges treasure and of the Subiectes also the wch treasure hath been the principall aide wherewth to do all the great artes that the Emperor Charles did in his tyme and the pryde of the Spanyardes to this day.

"And the waye wherby to do this most aptly and not to misse to meat wth the saide Fleetes in their comyng home into Spaine is to appoint the Shippes that shall be neadefull for the same to go from hence as secretly as they may to the Iland of Bearmunda, wch Iland is distant from the Canal or strait of Bahama 50 leagues through wch strait the fleetes that come out of the Indias for Spaine must neades come, and so they cannot faile to meete with them in that place, but the fleetes passing once the saide Iland may and do alter their course, as it wilbe hard to meete wth them afterwardes, and to set upon them in the portes unles men can pointe their tymes so redily as they may come even when they be readie to depart, wch cannot be done, the treasure will not be aboard, and so no good to be done. There may be many thinges more saide in this beahle wch I leave, becaue the tyme will best shewe them when this shalbe put in execution. It is also to be remembered that the lest losse that may happe in any p'te of the Indias to the king of Spayne wilbe more greavous unto him than any losse that can happen to him els where, and this is also most sure that the Queenes Matie at all tymes that neede shall require shall doe more by this meanes wth the charges of twentie thousand poundes then by any other meanes with a hundreth thousand poundes. And also it is most certayne that the king of Spaine being set a worke by these ways, the Queenes Matie shall little neede to care for any harme that he can do in these portes.

"ENDORSED. Discourses how hir Matie may annoy the king of Spayne."

## CHAPTER IX

1578-1579

THE first Letters Patent, permitting the planting of an English colony, were granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, on June 11, 1578. It was a momentous document, and became the model for all subsequent grants for a similar purpose; as such, it may perhaps be called the Magna Charter of Greater Britain.

Gilbert undoubtedly prepared it, and the conditions and arguments are the fruit of his fertile brain. The full document appears as an appendix.

Sir Humphrey and his heirs for ever were granted permission to seek out and discover any heathen and barbarous lands not occupied by any Christian king; to inhabit and remain there, and to transport there "such and as many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him." To legalize this action, all statutes against fugitives or absentees were repealed, so far as they related to Sir Humphrey and his colonists.

The lands occupied were to be held in fee simple, upon payment to the Crown of one fifth part of all the gold and silver that in them might be found. Power was granted to resist and repel all persons who should attempt to settle or to trade within two hundred leagues either way of any of the countries so chosen and settled. While in the main portion of the grant the term "for ever" is always used, this clause provides that such lands and countries shall be occupied within six years. For the encouragement of the enterprise it was decreed that the countries occupied under this grant

should thenceforth appertain to the Crown of England, and that all the persons "who shall now in this first journey for discovery, or in the second journey for conquest hereafter" travel to or settle in such lands, and their heirs for ever, should enjoy all the privileges of free denizenship of England.

Power was granted to Sir Humphrey, and his heirs for ever, to govern, to punish, to pardon, and to make laws, provided only that such laws were not contrary to the laws of England, nor against the true religion professed by her Church.

The High Treasurer of England, and or any four of the Privy Council, were empowered to grant licenses to Sir Humphrey to transport from England or Ireland all goods and commodities that were necessary for the colony.

The final provision was made, that if Sir Humphrey, or any of his company, committed any act of piracy or hostility against the subjects of any king in amity with England, and failed to make restitution, then he and his followers were to be cast forthwith from out the allegiance of England, and might be pursued with hostility by any prince who found himself wronged.

How far Elizabeth's practice was at variance with her precepts may be seen in the case of Drake, who was then away on his famous voyage. Remembering also her policy in regard to the Low Countries, one inclines to the opinion that this clause was added purely and solely for a "cloak and a defence."

In a paragraph quoted above it will be noted that the first expedition was to be for discovery, and a subsequent voyage for conquest, but from its composition it is easy to see that the first expedition was at least well able to defend itself, or as Gilbert's earliest biographer, Haies, expresses it, "able to encounter a king's power at sea."

We have no information about the preparation of this

formidable fleet. It must have been a work of months, and could not have been accomplished between the date of the signing of Letters Patent, June 11, and the date of sailing, which, although it did not finally take place until September 23, had been intended for a much earlier date. We therefore conclude that Gilbert had received intimation that the Letters Patent were to be granted months before they were actually signed, and that the preparation of his fleet had occupied his attention at least all the preceding winter. This intimation might very well be placed at about the time of the receipt of the "Discourse how her Majestie may annoy the King of Spain.

The names of the venturers in this first voyage, either in monies or commodities, were—

"Lord North, Mr. Edmondes of the Privy Chamber, Sir Matthew Arrundell, Sir Edward Horsey, Sir Wm. Morgan, Sir John Gilbert, Sir Geo. Peckham, Chas. Arrundell, Mr. Mackwilliam, Walter Rowley, Carew Rowley, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Edward, Henry Mowell, Mr. Wigmore, John Dudley, Thos. Dudley, Will Mohan, Edward Bartley, Thos. Smith (Customer of London), Edmund Eltoft, Geo. Carrowe of Okington, Mr. Rudgway, Lawrence Radford, Adrian Gilbert, Geo. Carrowe, Chas. Champernoune, Robt. Wraye, Thos. Hammond, Mr. Walet, Edward Snelling, Mr. Haies (gent of Liverpool), John Upton, Wm. Hawkins, Wm. Martin, Lawrence Barckham, John Rodford, Simon Bowiar, and Mr. Warckhope."

It will be observed that Gilbert was ably supported by his relations and friends. When he was planning his second expedition he was careful to safeguard all who had first assisted him and to his relations he accorded special privileges.

The following paper, from the Record Office, gives us a full account of the ships, officers, crews, and armaments of Humphrey Gilbert's fleet.

AN AGEK, admirall of the fleete in Burdon 250 Tunns havinge caste peces 24, fowlers 4, one Brasse pece, Sir Humfry Gylbat generall, Henrye Pedley Mr., his mates, Richard Smythe Boteswane. John Inglish Mr. Battes deputye of his ship.

Richard Wigmore esquire,  
Thomas Hamonde gent  
Thomas Skivington gent  
Edward Ventrils gent  
Jaquis Harvy a french gent  
Olyu — }  
Thomas } — Wotton gent  
Willm. Heringe gent  
Thomas Reboldes gent  
Willm. Stonewell gent  
Edward Dethicke gent  
John Friar phistion  
Surgeon  
Musicians  
Trumpeter  
Drume

— The whole number of gents  
solgiars and mariners are :—  
CXXVI—126.

THE HOPE OF GRENEWAY, Vice Admirall of 160 Tunnes / havinge in her of caste peces—XVIII, fowlers fower.

Carye Rawlye, brother to Syr Humfrye Gilberte, Capitayne,  
Jacobbe Whidon Mr. / his mate John Perden  
Willm. Horselye, Mr. Gouer,  
Henrye Noell espuiet, an Ancient by Lande,

Robert Wary gent  
Jame Fulford gent  
George Whetstone gent  
Anthony Hamton gent  
Henry Barker gent  
Andrew Piper gent  
Surgeo 1, Trumpiter 1,

— The whole number of gents  
solgiars and mariners are 80.

The FALCON, w<sup>ch</sup> was the Quenes ship of 100 Tunnes havinge in her Caste peces 15, fowlers 4, doble bases 12, Capitayne Walter Rawlye, brother to Syr Humfrye Gilberte, a capitayne of An Ancient by Lande

Fardinando, the Portugale, his Mr.

Edward Eltofe, esquire,  
Charles Champernewme, gent,  
John Robtes gent  
John Flert gent  
Thomas Holborne gent  
John Antoll gent  
Will. Higford gent

— The whole number of gents,  
solggars and mariners are 70.

The RED LYON, of a 110 Tunnes, havinge caste peces XII, Doble bases VI,

Myles Morgayne of Tredgar in the Countye of Mulmot, esquier,  
Capitayne,  
John Anthony his Mr., His mates Rise Sparowe, black Robin, Edward Marvayle boteswane,

# SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

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Drew Tonne Mr. Gow,  
George Harbart gent  
Edmond Mathew gent  
Charlet Bucly gent  
Rise Lewes gent  
John Martin gent  
Thomas Mychelas gent  
John Ameridath gent  
Lewis Jones gent

} The whole number of gents,  
solggars, and mariners, are 53.

The GALLION, of 40 Tunnes, havinge of caste peces 6, viz :—fower  
fawlonettes, one mynier, one falcon,

Richard Veall, capitayne,  
Corrte Feykinborow, Mr., his mate Richard Nycols,

Thomas Fowler Mr. Gow,  
Beniamin Butler gent  
Francis Rogers gent  
George Worselye gent  
Arthur Messinger gent

} — The whole number of gents,  
solgiars, and mariners are 28

The SWALLOW of 40 Tunnes,  
Capitayne John Vernye, gent

} The whole number in her of sol-  
giars and mariners—28

The lytell Frigate or SQUIRREL of 8 Tunnes. The whole number  
of Solgiars and mariners are 8.

The whole number of gent, solgiars, and mariners in this fleet are  
CCCLXV, 365., the said ships well vitaled at their deytur with Beef  
for thre monethes.

Ite w<sup>th</sup> Fyabe and Byscate for a year at III byscates a day for a  
man, Wth pease and Benes for a yere, Besydes particuler provisions.

M<sup>d</sup> that Syr Humfre, his ships came to Dartmouthe August 25,  
Dyvers provisions for aparall stolle away by a pynisse Sep. 8 /

Mr. Knollis came to Dartmouthe the X of September /

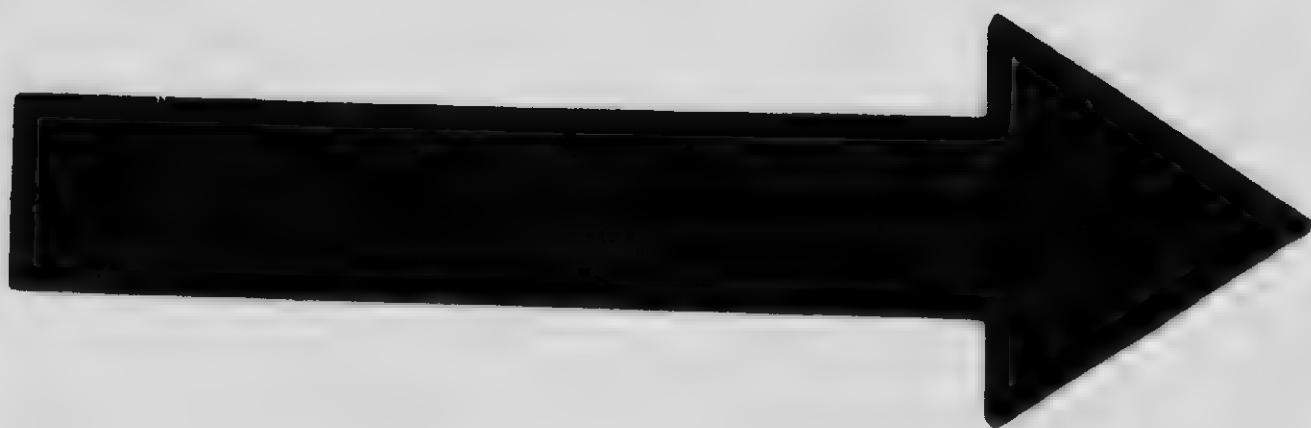
It depte to Plymouth the 22 of September /

Ite the 26 of September the sayd navy depte out of Dartmouth  
and wear dysped by contrary wyndes some to the Isle of Wyte some  
other wayes /

Ite the sayd ships arived at Plynouth the 15 of October.

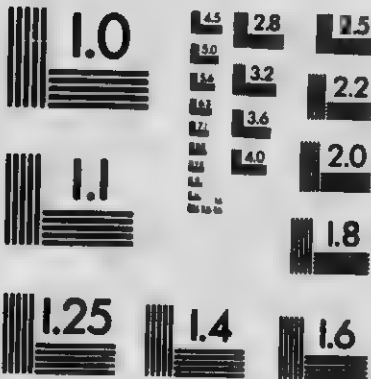
Ite the 29 of October in barked agayne from thence and by tempest  
inforced to take harborow / whear they remayned untill the 19 of  
November."

Sir Humphrey's flagship, or, as she was then called,  
the Admiral, bore the name of his forbearing wife—"An  
Ager," and for a motto: "*Quid Non*" ("Why Not"),  
which Gilbert had inscribed upon his own coat-of-arms,  
and which was typical of the originality of his mind  
and the daring with which he executed his designs.  
Among the gentlemen on board we notice Mr.  
Reynolds, who took his leave of Dr. Dee on August 5.



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Carew Raleigh commanded the "Hope of Greneway," bearing the appropriate motto "*Meliora spero*" ("I hope for better things"), a hope which was, unhappily, but short-lived, for she sprang a leak and had to return.

The "Falcon," a Queen's ship, flying the bold motto: "*Nec mortem peto nec finem fugio*" ("I neither seek death nor flee the end"), was commanded by Walter Raleigh, then twenty-six years of age. It was no doubt his first command at sea, and was his initiation in a career to which he also largely devoted his life. As a soldier he had attained the rank of Captain of a company. With him, as master, was Ferdinando, a Portuguese, of whom we shall hear more later.

The "Red Lion," under Captain Miles Morgan, carried "*Now or Never*" as her motto, unhappily all too appropriate.

The last two of Sir Humphrey's particular fleet, the *Swallow* and the little *Squirrel*, lived to fight another day, and formed part of the ill-fated expedition of 1583.

That portion of the fleet under the command of Henry Knowles, or Knollys, requires no particular mention, for reasons which will be developed later.

In all there were ten or eleven ships and 525 men assembled under Gilbert's command, an unnecessarily powerful fleet, it will be surmised, for a peaceful voyage of discovery.

So evidently thought the Spanish Ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza. Writing to the King, on May 6, 1578, he says—

"Humphrey Gilbert, with a son of Knollys, treasurer of the household, and member of the Council, has four ships in the river, which he has bought with his own money, and fully armed, and intends to take out with other gentlemen. It is said that he is to accompany Stockwell with his six ships now ready in the West Country, on a voyage of discovery, but the design of Humphrey Gilbert is understood to be to land on the island of Santa Genela, and he is therefore to take with



STATUE OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.  
*Truro Cathedral.*

1

him a man of the Chaldean nation, who is here, and well versed in that navigation and language."

We have no account of any expedition enterprised by Stockwell, nor has it been possible to find out what place was intended by Santa Genela. Over a month before Gilbert's patent was signed some of his ships were lying ready in the river, and Spanish spies were carefully watching him.

On June 3, Mendoza writes again in reference to Gilbert's voyage: "Although it is given out that he is bound on a different voyage from that undertaken by Master Stockwell, it is believed that when they are out at sea, they will join together and go towards the Indies, unless there be some disturbance in Ireland or Scotland which should detain them. They are taking with them a Portuguese called Simon Fernandez, a great rogue, who knows that coast well, and has given them much information about it. He has done the King of Portugal much dis-service in consequence of the large amount of property which his subjects have lost there through him. When Champigny was here, it was agreed with the Earl of Leicester, in his own chamber, the Queen being present, that the way to be safe from your Majesty and to injure your prosperity was to make the Indian voyage and rob the flotillas, if they could not set foot on the coast itself, as by this means, they might stop the receipt of so much money from there by your Majesty—Orange continues to urge this course, he being of the same opinion."

Fernandez was no doubt "Fernandino the Portugale," who sailed with Raleigh. The ideas propounded by the author of *How His Majesty may annoy the King of Spain* had evidently become popular, and received the endorsement of both Leicester and William of Orange.

On June . . . Mendoza writes again: "The Queen has given permission for Gilbert to sail and to Frobisher also. I am naving this shipmaster shadowed by spies

to discover whether he starts on the voyage, and to know for what purpose Gilbert wishes to take him."

By "this shipmaster" Mendoza undoubtedly meant Simon Fernandez.

Another letter on August 14, says: "I have sent a man expressly to make the voyage with Humphrey Gilbert, so that if he returns, he will give a full account of it to me. I have been fortunate in finding a person both faithful and competent, he being an Englishman, and if they should touch in Spain on their return, he is to go straight to Court and address himself to you."<sup>1</sup>

In spite of having some of his vessels ready in May it was months before Gilbert was able to sail. Writing to Walsingham on September 23, he ascribes his delay to the non-arrival at Dartmouth of his London shipping, which were detained by head winds. He addresses Walsingham as his principal patron, to whose interest he owed the Letters Patent from the Queen, and always his good and honourable friend, and begs him to keep him in her Majesty's good countenance and credit. The time was late for his departure, but yet not unfit for travel. No hint is given as to his destination. Gilbert soon found that his hopeful view of the season was far from being correct. Leaving Dartmouth on September 26, his fleet was immediately dispersed by gales of wind, and forced to put back to the Isle of Wight. On October 29, they embarked again, but were again forced by a violent tempest to return to harbour, from whence they finally departed on November 19 for parts unknown.

Nearly all historians have stated that he went to Newfoundland, but had to return immediately without accomplishing anything. Such, however, is certainly not the case. It is impossible that his fleet could have made the voyage across the North Atlantic in the winter season. It seems certain that he did not attempt it.

Gilbert's destination is shrouded in mystery. The

<sup>1</sup> A spy was also sent with Frobisher's expedition in 1578.

secret was well kept at the time, and is still unfathomed. In a letter written by Henry Kelligrew on August 23, 1577, he says, that there was a rumour current that Sir Humphrey Gilbert was to go to Peru, to the assistance of John Oxenham, who was reported to have taken £150,000 in gold. On October 10, 1578, he writes again: "Sir Humphrey Gilbert with his 10 ships set sail on Sept. 25th, but I know not whither." Even Mendoza, with his inside information, was at a loss, and could only make wild guesses at Gilbert's intention.

Although there is no express statement to that effect, we can be reasonably certain that this powerful fleet was organized to carry out the schemes proposed in *How His Majesty may annoy the King of Spain*, and in the endeavour to keep the secret is seen the reason why Gilbert's name was obliterated from that document.

We have still other evidence of the care with which the destination of this fleet was kept secret.

In 1578 was published a poem by Thomas Churchyard, called "The Entertaynement of the Queen's Majestie into Suffolke and Norfolke." In his *Epistle Dedicatorie* to Mr. Gilbert Gerrard, Attorney General, he says: "I have placed at the end of this discourse a feawe verses in the honoring of good minds and travellyng bodies, meaning thereby Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Master Henry Knolles and others, right worthy and honest gentlemen presently passed towards a happy voyage, as I hope." This quaint poem is reprinted as an appendix to this chapter, and will undoubtedly be read with much interest. Suffice it here to note that the poet's little lad, whom he sent to search for news, returns with the story that Sir Humphrey Gilbert and many of the poet's friends had taken leave of Court and slipped away to sea.

"But whither, no man knowes,  
Save that they are in Barke.  
Who with one mind, and one consent,  
Do hope to hitte one marke."

The poet then takes leave of them, apostrophizing each in turn. He cannot imagine why they should leave home, where they are so well off.

"Some people happily think  
a greedie hope of gayne,  
And heaps of gold you hope to find  
doth make you take this payne.  
Oh sure that cannot be,  
Conceive the case who list,  
For having that which thousands want  
alreadie in your fist."

For the poet's explanation of the problem we refer our readers to the poem itself.

But before the final departure on November 19, Knollys separated himself from Gilbert's command, taking with him "as many of the company as either the long time of staie by contrary wyndes have tyred, or his affection altered." He was a contumacious, conceited man, and presuming upon his relationship to the Queen, openly stated that he was superior to twenty knights, and that he demeaned himself in taking service under Gilbert. "He used me so dissdainfullie," writes Gilbert to Walsingham, "as my rash and foolish condicion hath seldom been sene to indure." When Gilbert, by way of healing the breach that had sprung up between them, asked Knollys to dine with him, he was met with the ungracious reply, "that he would leave my trencher for those beggars that were not able to pay for their meals which seemed a bare thank for my good wail."

Two of Knollys' men were under suspicion of having committed a murder in Plymouth, but Knollys refused to give them up. On another occasion he himself had shown sympathy with Holbeame, a notorious pirate. When Gilbert quietly and privately remonstrated with him about his conduct, he flew into a rage, and withdrew from the expedition. Gilbert was of opinion that Knollys was disaffected from the first, and only joined it to further some design of his own.

A deposition was made as to the circumstance before the Mayor of Dartmouth, which was signed by Wm. Hawkins, Walter Rowley, Miles Morgan, John Robartes, and Edmund Eltoffe. But what connection Hawkins had with the matter it is difficult to surmise, except that he was one of the "venturers."

Gilbert had still seven ships left, well manned and victualled, and he declared himself as well able as before to carry out "that he had undertaken," but does not specify what that was. He was particularly hurt at the desertion of his cousin Denny, who had become dissatisfied because of a small reproof and therefore followed Knollys.

The next news we have of the expedition is in a letter written by Sir John Gilbert to Walsingham, dated December 20. He contradicts the report that Humphrey Gilbert's fleet was poorly victualled, and declared that they had provisions enough for a year, and had re-victualled each time they had been forced to put back, on the last occasion in Ireland.

We have only confused accounts of what happened after leaving Ireland. Haies, the historian of Gilbert's second voyage, relates only that "he adventured to sea, when having tasted of no less misfortune he was shortly after driven to retire home with the loss of a tall ship, and more to his grief a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan."

In spite of considerable research no particulars can be obtained of this disaster. John Hooker in an address to Raleigh, obscurely refers to the expedition thus:—"Infinite commodities in sundry respects would have ensued from that voyage, if the fleet then accompanying you, had according to appointment followed you; or yourself had escaped the dangerous sea-fight, wherein many of your company was slain, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled." This is the sole reference that can be found to a naval encounter with the Spaniards, but upon this slim formation some

of Raleigh's biographers have built up quite a display of heroism on his part.

On February 26, 1579, the watchful Mendoza reports that Gilbert and Knollys had returned, and that the sole result of their expedition was the capture of a French ship with merchandise. The spy had also returned, but what he reported is not related. If there had been a fight with Spaniards at sea, as indicated by Hooker, it is certain that the spy's accounts of it would have been transmitted to Spain.

It seems very probable, therefore, that Miles Morgan and his tall ship were lost in a storm.

What its destination may have been, or by what agency defeated, whether buffeted by storms or vanquished by the enemy, Gilbert's first expedition was a failure. A sympathizing contemporary expresses his regret that "So forward a mind should have so backward a success." Mendoza also writes: "Not only have they abandoned the navigation to Cathay, but they have been so sickened with the little profit produced from their last voyage that not a man or a sailor has been paid his wages." Were it not for Mendoza's letter his return would have been unrecorded. A melancholy contrast to the returning fleet, pictured in the *Discourse How Hir Majesty may annoy the King of Spain*, with strings of captured vessels in its wake, forced to hide in some Irish port until the "annoyance" of the King of Spain had blown over.

The King of Spain was, however, quite sufficiently annoyed as it was. Gilbert intended, as soon as his fleet refitted, to have sailed again on his destined voyage, but fate, in the person of the Spanish Ambassador, intervened. Such strong representations were made to the Queen and her Council, as to the intended piracies of Gilbert, that the Council were forced to notice them, and on April 26 they wrote to Sir Humphrey "revoking him from his intended journey of the seas for seking of forryne cuntries, or if he shall proceede in it, that



BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.



he putt in sureties," for himself and his associates, to refrain from any piratical action."

This letter was evidently not delivered, for on May 28, they wrote to Sir John Gilbert, quoting the above letter, and saying that they understood that he had sailed before its receipt, and could not stay his enterprise without very considerable loss. Sir John had written defending his brothers against the charge of piracy, and had undertaken to be answerable for them. The Council informed him that further complaints had been received; that a Spanish vessel laden with oranges had been taken in Walfed Bay, which must be returned and her captain recompensed. They had heard that "Rouley" had returned to Dartmouth, and that Sir Humphrey was still on the coast, therefore Sir John was required "friendlie to advise them to surcease from proceeding anie further, and to remand them at home and answer such as have been by their company damaged."

A letter was also sent to the Sheriff, Vice-Admirals, and Justices of the Peace, of the County of Devon, instructing them forthwith to charge Sir Humphrey and his company to repair to land, and that Rawley, Eltoffe, and others, who were said to be in Dartmouth, were to be instructed "to surcease from their intended journey and to medle no further therein without express order from their Lordships." The Sheriff was also instructed to make diligent inquiry about any piracies committed by Gilbert, Rawley, Fortescue or any others of the expedition, and to commit the perpetrators to prison, or take sureties from them to answer the charges.

The accusations against Gilbert and his company are contained in the following paper—

"Demands of the King of Spain's subjects against Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

"First, the ship named MARY, Master Gellam Malerna, laden with linen-cloth, haberdash wares, and other merchandise; which, following her voyage from

Spain, was taken by ships of the saide Sir Humfrey and one Master Miles Morgan, and part of the goods were sold in Cornwall, as it has been well proved.

"Item, they demand restitution of the spoil committed by the aforesaid Ships in Galica, where they came aland and sacked the village, and did many outrages to the inhabitants and the church; part of which spoil was likewise sold in Cornwall.

"Item, restitution of certain iron taken from a Spaniard.

"Item, a barque of Sir Humfreys's, one Mr. Wigmore being captain, had part of the linen-cloth. He bought of Derifall, master of Mr. Knowell's ship named the FRANCES, a cable and anchor belonging to the French ship that Mr. Knowell's ship took, and paid for them in linen-cloth, being parcel of our demand.

"The Ambassador's request is that the king's subjects may be recompensed for the wrongs done [them, and that the male] factors may be punished according to the amity and league between their Majesties.

"Endorsed. Information against Sir Humphrey Gilbert, One name corrected in Burghley's hand."

Later on the Spanish ship was restored, and in order to recompense the Captain for his ruined cargo, he was permitted to purchase and transport three hundred quarters of grain from Devonshire. Gilbert, writing to Walsingham, on February 5, 1583, disclaims any participation in these piracies, and, indeed, claims particular merit for having refrained from any illegal act. He says his first voyage involved him in heavy losses, because he would not himself nor suffer any of his company to do anything contrary with his word given to Her Majesty; for if he had not preferred his credit to his gain he need not have returned as poor as he then did.

Mendoza continues to refer to him scornfully as a pirate and robber. On June 29, 1579, he writes: "James FitzMaurice, the Irishman, is now said to be

on the coast of Cornwall, with a ship of eight hundred tons and two small ones, with which he has captured a Bristol vessel, throwing all the crew into the sea. In consequence of this, Humphrey Gilbert, who was robbing on the Coast, has been ordered to go in pursuit of the Irishman, who although he has so few ships is causing them some anxiety."

It is extraordinary how well informed Mendoza always was. The above letter was written on June 29, but it was not until July 24, that a Commission was given to Sir Humphrey Gilbert to attack James FitzMaurice. Some one exceptionally well posted in the intentions of the Privy Council was evidently in the pay of the Spanish Ambassador.

The Commission empowered Sir Humphrey to commandeer any ships or vessels with their pilots and mariners that he might require, whether "within liberties or without." He was instructed to "pursue, ponysshe, correct and plague the said James" and his rebellious navy. More particular instructions were appended. FitzMaurice was to be carefully watched and his movements at sea promptly reported. If he were encountered, and Gilbert found himself able to attack him, he was to do so, for Her Majesty's honour, and his own safety and credit. If FitzMaurice left Ireland, Gilbert was to follow him up and see in what country he took refuge. Finally, he was authorized to levy upon the most convenient towns for any supplies he needed.<sup>1</sup>

Gilbert continued in this employment until the following October 5, when Walsingham notified him that his ships were no longer required, and asked him to send some trustworthy person to Ireland to receive them.

<sup>1</sup> The result of this levy is amusing. Dublin was called upon for supplies, and sent some biscuits to Cork, but being made of musty corn "was wholly lost saving that little that was uttered to such ships as Sir Humphrey Gilbert had in entertainment whom hunger compelled to feed upon it."

The letter is addressed to him, at Baldismyre near Feversham, Kent, so that at that time he was not in command of his vessels. Mendoza, as usual, kept watch, and reported early in September that Gilbert had landed in Galicia and sacked a monastery. He made complaint to the Queen on the matter, who at once, he says, ordered the men to be arrested, and assured him that they should be punished.

Gilbert in due course sent in a bill for the hire of his ships and the payment of himself and crews, but, as usual, it was quite another matter to get it paid.

On July 11, 1581, he wrote a letter to Walsingham, which is here given in full. Poor Sir Humphrey! the lot of a public servant under Elizabeth was certainly a hard one; he was drawn away from his colonizing plans to perform a duty for which he did not even have the small satisfaction of getting paid. Hard as was his lot, that of Lady Gilbert makes even greater demands upon our sympathy, although we trust that Gilbert spoke metaphorically when he said that her clothes had been sold to pay his debts.

"Sr greate extremitie enforceth me most humblie and earnestlie to crave your honors speedy furtherance of me, for the small some of monye w<sup>ch</sup> remaynethe duue for the service of her Majestie in Irelande; w<sup>ch</sup> weere stayed and employed ther, by the Lords Justices arrestes and not by my shuet: I did lose by yt above two thousand pundes: by meanes that I was stayed here and could not be permitted to retorne into Irelande to save my shippes and goodes: w<sup>ch</sup> weare stolen and carried awaye, as your Honor and my Lordes doe very well knowe. My recommenige is sett down and perfected and allowed, under the Awditor's hand of Irelande as you knowe. And my Lord Deputie that now is, wrotte his letters to my Lo. of the Counsell longe sythens, for my paymente, but as yet I can gett nothinge. A miserable thinge it ys that I, poore man,



SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.



havinge served Her Matie in warres and peace above seven and twenty yeres, shoulde be nowe subjecte to daylie arrestes, executions, and outlawries; yea and forside to gadge and sell my wyffes clothes from her backe, who browgthe me so good a lyvinge. The Queenes Matie hath allwaies said that her highness would releve me: and shall I now sterue without Her Maties privatie for wante of my owne. Her Matie did never yet denye me anye thinge that that I wer asked, althoughe I never enjoyed anythyng to proffytt that ever Her Majestie gave me. So that my case is thus evill, not throwe wante of Her Maies most gracyous and bownterfulle consideration in my good, but throwe my evill happe otherwaies. Therefore my most humble shute is that your honor will wouchsafe without delaye to present this my pytteful petition to her Maties owne consideration; whoe I am suer will never detain my owne from me, neyther yet denye me anye other reasonable shure for my releiffe, that have served her highness from a boye to the age of white heeres

"Menster in Shippey, the XI of July 1581.

"Yor Honnors moste homble to commannde,  
"HY GYLBERTE."

It will be noted that he complains of being detained in England, and that during his absence his ships were despoiled. Although no direct evidence can be found on the matter, we infer that, as a result of Mendoza's complaint of his raid in Galicia, he was summoned to England to answer the charge, and during this enforced absence he suffered the loss of £2,000.

But even this piteous appeal failed to secure payment, and on October 25 following, he wrote again to Walsingham, explaining some of the items in his bill of expenses, and giving us, by the way, some account of the services he had rendered.

"It seemeth yor. honor thincketh yt muche that I

should be allowed the some sett downe by the awditor in my accomptes for the service of Three of my shippes in Irlande; trulie I am not allowed so mucche as I ought, for I was appointed admirall of all the ships that served then in Irelande vntill Sir John Parrett came over with her Maties shipping, and am allowed but xviiij<sup>d</sup>. a daie waiges, wch is ewy ordynarie Sea Captaines paie.

"Also the Anne Ager was a shippe of Two hundred Four score and thirten tonnes or there abouts, and in my reckoninge she is sett donne but Two hundred and Fowertie tonnes, so that I am wronged thereby, Thirtie seven pundes tene shillinges.

"Also I had in the Anne a hundred and twentie men of my owne company besides thirtie that were of Mr. Savelles and the p'vost marshalls men whome I victayled at my owne chardges, as I did all the rest, and am allowed but for a hundred men, so that I am wronged therein Twentie mens wages and fyftie mens victailes for one month, amountinge to Fortie one poundes Thirtenn shillings and Fower pence.

"And when it pleased yor honor to thincke that her matie is duble charged in the accompte for the same shippe it is nothings so vnder yor honors Correction, for the first chardge is for the Captaine and Seaventen officers wth Fower score and two men for one monthe and a daie, begynninge the one and twentieth daie of July 1579 and endinge the eyghten daie of August next followinge, wch tyme she wth the other shippes kept at Sea to garde the Coste. And was from the xixth. daie of August, being the next daie after, appointed to moer her selfe hard by the walls of kynsall for the defense of the towne, at wch tyme there was Thre score of her company dischargd, and had allowance but for fortie men afterwarde, from the said xixth. daie of August until the xijth. daie of October then next following, being the daie of her dischargd, so that there is not any double charge sett downe for the Anne, the

latter allowannce begynninge at thende of the first discharge.

"And to satisfie yor honor for the service my shippes did, trulie they did as they were directed by the governor and therfore not to be blamed were it more or lesse, but the Rebels did twise or thrise offer to assayell the towne of kynsall but durst not by meanes of the fear they had of the Artillerye of the Anne Ager, so that they did at that tyme the service of garrisoners for the defence of the towne, wch otherwise was lyke to have been spoyled.

"And for the relief she wasted vycetailes and went to yohall, where were two frenche shippes well ordynanced and manned, and entred them by force and toke them bothe, they assystinge the Rebels of the towne against her Maties forces, vntill the doinge of wch service the Erie of Wormewood could not come over the River of yohall to assayle the towne hy meanes of their artillerye.

"And touching the frygott she was employed as a passenger betweene England and Ireland and brought over St. Drew Drewry and others with letters.

"Farthere there was at that time of my owne powder spent in my said shippes and employed by the lorde Justice to the value of Sixteen poundes sterling, as appeareth by a note of Oliver Bramfordes who was then Clerke of the Checke, the wch note I have redye to shewe and am not allowed for the same.

"I hope my case shall be measured as others hathe bene, who are paied both freight and wages, that spent her Matie much more money then the allowances of my shippes cometh vnto and yet did (wthout offence being spoken) as lytell service as they for any thinge I knowe, wch I hope should have bene better yf I might haue had leave to serue in them my selfe.

"I trust yor honor maketh no doubt that theis shippes served the Queene in suche sorte as aforesaid, for that is manyfestlie knowne vnto my lordes of the Counsell bothe by Sr. Willm Dreurys Ire, late lorde Justice,

sent over by my selfe touchinge the same matter, as appereth by yor honors lre directed to me dated the vth. of October 1579, as also by my lorde Greys lres to my lordes of the Counsell dated the xxxth. of January 1580, besides the testimonyall therof vnder the Auditors hande who hathe sett downe my particuler accomptes for the service of the said shippes.

"And for the better prooffe therof I have the lorde Justices Comission and instrucons to shewe vnder his hande and her Maties Counsell of Irelande and vnder the privie Seale of the same Realme.

"I most humblie besechinge yor honor for yor better satisfacon that Sr. Warram Sellinger may be called before you and my lordes of the counsell to speake his knowledge herein, who aucthorised with others by the lorde justices warrant did first staye bothe me and my men and shippes for the aforesaide services, and did by the lyke aucthoritie dischargd the same.

"Thus muche I thought good to advertise yor honor concerning yor late obiections for the entertaynment of my shippes in Ireland, wch were employed there by the governors arrest and commandment and not by any desire of myne, and in trothe it hathe in effecte vtterly vndone me, for when my shippes were dischargd without paie and my selfe stayed upon bonde and sureties in England by Commandement from my lordes of the privie Counsell, the Company stole, solde, and gaged all that I had there and ranne away with some of my shippes, to my hindrance above Two thousand poundes, as yor honor and my lordes of the Counsell p'tlie knoweth. So that if I should not be relieved wth the smale some that remayneth dewe to me for those services I should be vtterly vndone, not able to shewe my hedd for detts, wherefore I most humblie crave yor honors speedie furtherance herein, that I may eyther be allowed as the awditor hathe sett downe or otherwise as yt shall please my lordes of the Counsell to appoint, desiringe only their present resolution of this my sute,

## SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT 165

and so I most humblie Comytt yor honor to god.  
Westmir., dated the xxvth. daie of October 1581.

"Yor ho. moste hble to co'ande

"HY GYLBERTE."

No trace can be found of any action against him for the raid on Galicia. Mendoza's complaint had to be ostensibly recognized by ordering Gilbert to appear and answer the charges made against him, and there the matter probably ended.

In July 1582, the sum of £2747 18s. 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. was paid to Ed. Denney, Sir H. Gilbert and others, on account of services rendered in Ireland, which it is presumed covered the hire of his ships, for which he had so long been dunning the Government.

He was fortunate in getting paid. Sir Henry Sidney ruined himself in Elizabeth's service. A State paper shows that he expended thirty pounds a week as Lord President of Wales, but was allowed only twenty pounds. In Ireland he spent a fortune, and was rewarded by abuse. Walsingham also spent his fortune in the Queen's service, and when he died was buried at midnight because there was no money to pay for a State funeral.

### APPENDIX I

The Letters Patent graunted by her Majestie to Sir Humfrey Gilbert, knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America. Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especiall grace, certaine science and meere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, doe give and graunt to our trustie and welbeloved servaunt Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Devonshire knight,

and to his heires and assignes for ever, free libertie and licence from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, finde, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to every or any of them, shall seeme good: and the same to have, hold, occupie an enjoy to him, his heires and assignes for ever, with all commodities, jurisdictions, and royalties both by sea and land: and the sayd Sir Humfrey and all such as from time to time by licence of us, our heires and successours, shall goe and travell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the discretion of the sayd sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, the statutes or acts of Parliament made against Fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realm of England without licence, or any other acte, statute, lawe, or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And wee doe likewise by these presents, for us, our heires and successours, give full authoritie and power to the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every of them, that hee, they, and every or any of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the same voyages, to travell thitherward, and to inhabite there with him, and every or any of them, such and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him and them, and every or any of them, with sufficient shipping, and furniture for their transportations, so that none of the same persons, nor any of them be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by us, our heires and successours. And further, that he the said Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them, shall have, hold, and occupy and enjoy to him, his heires or assignes, and every of them forever, all the soyle of all such lands, countries, & territories so to be discovered or possessed as aforesaid, and of all cities, Castles, Townes and Villages, and

places in the same, with the rites, royalties and jurisdictions, as well marine as other, within the sayd lands or countries of the seas thereunto adjoyning, to be had or used with full power to dispose thereof, & of every part thereof in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as nere as the same conveniently may be, at his, and their will & pleasure, to any person then being, or that shall remain within the allegiance of us, our heires and successours, paying unto us for all services, duties and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoverie, subduing and possessing shall be there gotten: all which lands, countries and territories, shall for ever bee holden by the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes of us, our heires and successours by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part before reserved onely for all services.

"And moreover we doe by those presents for us, our heires and successours, give and graunt licence to the sayde Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes, and to every of them, that hee and they, and every or any of them shall, and may from time to time, and all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulse, repell, and resist, as well by Sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatsoever, as without the speciall licence the liking of the sayd Sir Humfrey, and his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayd countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such countreys as aforesayd, with the subjects of any Christian prince, being in amitie with her Majesty, where the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their associates or companies, shall within sixe yeeres next ensuing, make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his

or their, or any of their companies : giving and graunting by these presents, further power and authoritie to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every of them from time to time hereafter to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and every person and persons, with their shippes, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayd sir Humfrey, or his heires or assignes as aforesayd (the subjects of our Realmes and dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, being driven by force of tempest or shipwracke onely excepted), and those persons, and every of them with their shippes vessels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and possess, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and of every or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie of such countreys, landes and territories so to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayd, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement of men to this enterprise : wee doe by these presents grant, and declare, that all such countreys so hereafter to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayd, from thenceforth shall be of the allegiance of us, our heires, and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and to all and every of them, and to all and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entered in some of our courts of Record, within this our Realme of England, and that with the assent of the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, shall nowe in this journey for discoverie, or in the second journey for conquest hereafter travell to such lands, countries and territories aforesaid, and to their and every of their heires : that they or every and any of them being either borne within our sayd Realmes of England or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting with any the lands, countreys, and territories aforesayd, with such licence as aforesayd,

shall, and may have, and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England, and within our allegiance: any law, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

"And forasmuch, as upon the finding out, discovering and inhabiting of such remote lands, countreys and territories, as aforesayd, it shall be necessarie for the safetie of all men that shall adventure themselves in those journeys or voiajes, to determine to live together in Christian peace and civill quietnesse each with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit, enjoy that whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill: wee for us our heires, and successours are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe give and graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey and his heires and assignes for ever, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter within the sayd mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, have full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe and rule by their, and every or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as civill, both marine and other, all such our subjects and others, as shall from time to time hereafter adventure themselves in the sayd journeys or voyages habitative or possessive, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreys or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any the sayd place or places, where the sayd sir Humfrey or his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associates or companies, shall inhabite within sixe yeeres next ensuing the date thereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall be by him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or every, or any of them devised or established for the better government of the sayd people as aforesayd: so alwayes that the sayd statutes, lawes and ordinances may be as nere as conveniently may, agreeable to the forme of the

lawes & pollicy of England : and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subjects of people of those lands or places from the allegiance of us, our heires or successours, as their immediate Soveraignes under God. And further we doe by these present for us, our heires and successours, give and graunt full power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloved counsellor, sir William Ceceill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord treasurer of England for us, for the time being, and to the privie counsell of us, our heires and successours, or any foure of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure of them, shall, and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, under his or their handes or seales be vertue of these presents, authorize and licence the sayd sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them by him and themselves, or by their or any of their sufficient attorneys, deputies, officers, ministers, factors and servants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their associates and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessities and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayd lord treasurer or foure of the privie counsell of us, our heires or successours for the time being, as aforesayd, shall be from time to time by his or their wisdoms or discretions thought meete and convenient for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them, and his and their and every or any of their sayd associates and companies, any act, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

“Provided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes and states, that if the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence

or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by Sea or by land, or doe any acts of unjust and unlawfull hostilitie to any of the Subjects of us, our heires, or successours, or any of the subjects of any King, prince, ruler, governour or state being then in perfect league and amitie with us, our heires or successours: and that upon such injurie, or upon just complaint of any such prince, ruler, governour or state, or their subjects, wee our heires or successours shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any other to whom these our Letters patent may extend, shall within the terme to be limited by such proclamations, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such injuries done, so as both we and the saide Princes, or others so complayning, may holde themselves fully contended: And that if the saide sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly, within such time to be limited: that then it shall be lawful to us, our heires and successours, to put the saide sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discovered as is aforesaide, or any of them, out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection the saide sir Humfrey, and his heires, assignes, adherents and others so to be put out, and the saide places within their habitation, possession and rule, shal be out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie as being not our Subjects, nor by us any way to bee advowed, maintained or defended, nor to bee holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention, &c. In witnesse whereof &c. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the ii day of June, the twentieth yeere of our raigne. Anno Dom. 1578.

"Per ipsam Reginam, &c."

## APPENDIX II

*The Enterlaynements of the Queenes Maistie into  
Suffolke and Norffolke*, by Thomas Churchyard, 1578.

Extract from the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to Maister Gilbert Gerard.

" . . . I have placed at the end of this discourse a few verses, in the honoring of good mindes, and travelling bodyes, meaning thereby Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Maister Henry Knolles, and others, right worthy and honest Gentlemen, presently passed towards a happy voyage as I hope. . . ."

"A matter touching the Iourney of  
Sir Humfrey Gilbarte, Knight.

"The man that travels much,  
with mind and body both,  
(Whose restlesse lims, and labring thoughtes,  
through heaps of hazards goth,)  
A while would gladly rest,  
and so some sollace taste,  
To sharp the sense, and ease the heart,  
that toyle doth weare and waste.  
But though with charged brest,  
I seeke to steale a nappe,  
In hope sound sleepes would soone forget,  
the grieve of thanklesse happe:  
Some cause calls op my Muse,  
and bids my wits awake,  
That downe is layde on quiet couch,  
a little ease to take:  
As lately loe you heard,  
by Verses penned well,  
Which soundes so shrilly through my cares  
and tings so like a Bell,  
That though in sadde dead sleepe,  
my wery body were,  
I must rise vp and whet my witts,  
and lend a louing eare.  
To that new tale I heare,  
of friends that hence do go  
Unto a soyle they never saw,  
another world I trow

That few or none have found:  
well, what should more be sayd,  
The Iourney that my friends do take,  
full long in head I wayed,  
Yet thought to pause awhile,  
(eare pen to paper past)  
To see how course of world wold go,  
and things fell out at last.  
And thus in my delay  
I caught a slumber sweete,  
And sure me thought in fearful dream,  
of sweaun, did I meete  
The Golden Heart, and other Ships,  
that to this voyage goes,  
Which Barks wer bravely vnder saile,  
where water ebbs and floes.  
And where the view of Countrey soile,  
was farre from Saylers sight,  
And men were forst to trie the Seas  
in storm or darkest night.  
But eare my dreame could ende,  
a voyce gan call alowde,  
Where is Churchyard? doth he sleepe?  
or is he crept in Clowde,  
To shun the use of penne  
and matter worthy note?  
Whereat I started out of bedde,  
and streight way vp I gote,  
And to my Studie dore  
in haste therewith I went  
As one that fain would write some thing  
that might the worlde content.  
Then brought I vnto mind,  
the heaue Dreame I had,  
Yet eare I wrote one English verse,  
I cald my little ladde,  
And bad him runne with speede  
abroade, and bring some newes,  
And learne the truth of every thing,  
that I might shape my Muse  
To please the peoples eares  
with frute of Poets penne.  
My Lackey had not walkt in Powles  
not twentle paces then,  
But heard that sundrie friends  
of mine, had taken leaue  
At Courte, and were all Shipte away.  
This brute may thee deceyue  
Thou foolish Boy (quoth I)  
nay sir, by sweete Sainct John  
(Quoth he) Sir Humfrey Gilbert sure  
and all his troupe is gone.  
But whether, no man knowes  
save that they are in Barke

## THE LIFE OF

Who with one mind, and as a consent,  
 do hope to hitte one marke.  
 A ha Sir boy (quoth I)  
 I knew this long agoe,  
 Shut study dore, packe hence awhile,  
 and musing even so,  
 I marueld howe this Knight,  
 could leaue his Lady heere,  
 His friends, and pretty tender babes  
 that he did hold so deere,  
 And take him to the Seas,  
 where dayly dangers are.  
 Then wayd I how, immortal Fame  
 was more than worldly care,  
 And where great mind remaynes  
 the bodyes rest is small,  
 For Countreys wealth, for priuate gayne  
 or glory seeke we all.  
 And such as markes this world,  
 and notes the course of things  
 The weake and tickle stay of states  
 and great affayres of Kings,  
 Desires to be abroad, e,  
 for causes more than one,  
 Content to liue as God appounes  
 and let the world alone.  
 Yea such as deeply looke,  
 into these worldly toyes,  
 And freedome of the body still  
 and noble mind enioyes,  
 Are glad to trudge and toyle  
 and driue off time awhile,  
 And at our ydle-leasures laughs  
 or at our follies smyle :  
 That will not take some paynes,  
 and trye both land and Seas,  
 For Knowledge seeke, and heape of happe  
 to do our Country ease.  
 O Gilbert, noble Knight,  
 God send thee thy desire,  
 O manly Knolles, and worthy Wight  
 whose heart doth still aspire  
 I wish thee great renowne,  
 and noble Carie too,  
 And noble North, with Wigmore wise,  
 I wish you well to do.  
 O Rawley ripe of sprite,  
 and rare right many wayes,  
 And liuely Nowell, God you guide,  
 to purchase endless prayse.  
 Goe comely Cotton too,  
 and march amide the rancke,  
 And honest Dennie with the best,  
 must needes deserue some thanke

George Carie forth I call,  
and sure John Roberts here,  
A speciall sparke with present witte,  
in person shall appeare.  
Miles Morgan gaynes good Fame,  
and Whetstone steps in place,  
And seekes by travell and by toyle,  
to winne him double grace.  
John Vdall is not hidde,  
nor Rowles I do forgette,  
The rest I vow to publish out,  
and so dwell in their dette.  
But though that Francis Knolles  
comes last vnto my mind,  
Among the first that shall do well,  
he will not be behind.  
O faithful friends farewell,  
I named you all aroe,  
For World to view, whiles world doth last,  
what courage you do shooe.  
What charges you are at,  
what venter you have made,  
And how you seeke to traffike there,  
where neuer yet was trade.  
And most of you such men,  
as liuings haue at home,  
So great and good, that sure abroad  
ye neede not for to come:  
Faire houses, lands, and wiues,  
great friends, and of the best,  
Good staves and pillers, wherevpon  
the strongest heere may rest:  
Well knowne, and honord both,  
In credite every way,  
In perfite plights and state to liue,  
and laugh, though world say nay.  
This strange adiew of youre  
doth argue noble harts,  
And in your brestes are noble giftes  
and many noble parts.  
For hauing wealth at will,  
and world at becke and call,  
Propt vp with Princes fauoure still,  
so sure ye could not fall:  
And yet to leaue that hope,  
to seeke vncertayne happe,  
And so committe your goods and liues  
to every stormy clappe  
That suddayne tempest brings.  
me think the venture great,  
The value of your valiant minds,  
surmounts the fire in heate.  
Whereof such hote desires  
of doing good, doth rise,

The kindled coales and flames thereof  
 do sparkle through the Skyes.  
 Some people happily thinke  
 a greedie hope of gayne,  
 And heapes of gold you hope to find,  
 doth make you take this payne.  
 Oh sure that can not be,  
 conceyue the case who list,  
 For having that which thousands want,  
 alreadie in your fist,  
 You meane to clime for Fame  
 as high as eye may looke,  
 And search the Creekes and priuie Portes  
 and every secret nooke,  
 As farre as shippe may sayle :  
 I trust for Countreys good :  
 And for the common wealthes auayle,  
 You offer life and bloud.  
 Let world now speake the worst,  
 and bable what they please,  
 What thing could make you take those toyles  
 and so forsake your ease.  
 If God mould not your minds,  
 to things he liketh well,  
 And that your good and deepe consaytes,  
 wherein you long did dwell,  
 Did lead and haul you hence,  
 as men prepared and wrought,  
 To shew what witte and skill men haue,  
 and serue the makers thought.  
 That all thing cleerely sees :  
 tis God and your good mind,  
 That driues you to this high attempt,  
 for any thing I find.  
 And as he sent you out,  
 so can he bring you in,  
 Yea, safely home, that you shall shew  
 at large where you have bin.  
 And now to tell it plaine,  
 not one of all your troupe,  
 (Of gentle race) that heere at home,  
 did hold down head or droupe,  
 But bravely bore it out :  
 which shews, no neede it was,  
 That did procure those gallants gay,  
 from hence it has to passe.  
 Thus sure some other thing  
 than gayne, did cause you goe,  
 Some noble fire that burnes in brest,  
 whose flames of force must shew  
 Good meaning and good mind,  
 good frute and grayne withall,  
 When season serues, and harvest commes,  
 and hope for hire doth call.

You might have walkt the streetes,  
as other gallants do,  
Yea kept the Court and Countrey both,  
in Pawles have ietted too.  
If mind had not bin drawne,  
to things of greater weight,  
And had not harts held up your heads  
another kind of height,  
Perhaps in ydle dayes,  
you would set men a worke,  
And call them to accompt in hast,  
that close in corners lurke :  
And aske in open place,  
how they would spend their time,  
And if they say they had no mind  
the loftie Cloudes to clime  
Yet would you wish they should  
see what on earth is found  
And search the prooffe, and sayle by arte,  
about the world so round.  
At home to tarrie still,  
but breedes grosse bloud and witte,  
Then better with the Fawcon flie,  
then heere on dunghill sitte,  
And see how browes do feede,  
on tainted carren bare,  
Or liue a lewd and wretched life  
vpon a hungry share.  
At home much time is lost  
and neuer found againe,  
Much household cares, and common griefes,  
do breake both sleepe and brayne.  
Abroade men win great wealth,  
or knowledge gayne at least,  
At home we runne to wanton sportes,  
and smell out euery fest.  
Abroade small bankers are,  
it will not quit the cost,  
At home is naught but making love  
to every painted post.  
Abroade the flesh is tamde,  
and brought in feare and frame,  
At home oft times pride goes before,  
and after cometh shame.  
Abroade we Wisdome learne,  
and do from follie flee,  
At home some daunce so in a nette,  
their selves they cannot see.  
Abroade where service is,  
much honor may be wonne,  
At home our gay vayneglory goes,  
like shadow in the Sunne.  
Abroade bare robes are best,  
and Manhoode makes the showe

At home young Maister must be fine,  
or all is lost you know.  
Abroade few quarrels are,  
a brawle is bought so deere,  
At home they cogge, they foyst, they royst,  
and reuell all the yeare.  
Abroade is Courteys speech,  
and ciuill order still,  
At home when rudenesse keepes no rule,  
wilde wantons take their will.  
Abroade may health be got,  
for labour lengthens life,  
At home the Goute, the cramp, the cold,  
and each disease is rife.  
Abroade the sightes are strange,  
and wonders may be seene,  
At home a stale and balde deuice,  
but dubs the spreetes I weene.  
Abroade we learn to spare,  
to serue our turn in thend,  
At home men set the cocke on hoope,  
and vaynly spoyle and spend.  
Abroad few theeuës you have,  
they find so little grace,  
At home foule shiftes and robbries both,  
abounde in every place.  
Thus prooue I travells best,  
for body, soule, and sense,  
And ease a nurse to pamper vice,  
and buckler of defence.  
Where virtue cannot strike,  
nor enter any way,  
The buckler hath such wicked barres  
dame Vertues force to stay.  
With rest leawd lust doth rise,  
and soon subdues the mind.  
And toyle beates backe fond Venus toyes,  
and strikes vaine fancie blind.  
Much rest runnes riot still,  
and breatheth treasons oft,  
And toyle plucks downe those haughtie hearts  
that lookes to mount alofte.  
Rest maketh mischief ripe,  
and settes bad things abroch,  
Toyle teacheth men to conquer Fame,  
and flee from foule reproch.  
Rest loves to dallie much,  
like whelp that waues the taylor,  
Toyle is for vertue quicke as Bee,  
for Vice as slow as snayle.  
Rest sowes no blessed seede,  
yet reapes a cursed grayne,  
Toyle weedes the ground, and planteth floures  
where nettles did remayne.

Rest will no dutie know,  
but shakes off schakels still,  
Toyle makes the body apt to stoupe,  
to bend and shew good will.  
Rest is a retchlesse ioy,  
that sees not his owne harmes,  
Toyle casts out many a vayne consayte,  
that rest brings in by swarmes.  
If toyle bring these good things  
that I have told before,  
And rest but want and beggrie breeds,  
with sundrie mischiefs more,  
They ought have endlesse lawd  
that in these loytring dayes  
Set ydle hands and heads a worke,  
to winne immortall prayse.  
And they that first found out  
the strange and forrayne soyle,  
Are gon themselves to win the prise,  
or take the open soyle,  
Which shews that more than men,  
halfe Gods if I say troth,  
Whole kingdomes scarcely ca suffice  
their minds and manhoode both.  
Now have they taken leave  
of worldly pleasures all,  
That young and lusty were to liue,  
and now to toyle they fall.  
That finely were brought vp,  
yea now they bidde adiew,  
The glittering Court, the gallat towne  
the gorgious garments new,  
The brauerie of this world,  
the pride and pomp of earth,  
And look not backward any way,  
to ritches, race, or birth.  
To worthy wife or friend,  
to babes, nor neerest kinne,  
But only to the Lord aboue,  
and iourney they are in.  
And all for Countreys cause,  
and to enrich the same,  
Now do they hazard all they have :  
and so for wealth and fame,  
They fare along the Seas,  
they sayle and tide it out,  
They hale and stretch the sheates aloft,  
they toyle and dread no doubt.  
They feed on Bisket hard,  
and drinke but simple beere,  
Salt beefe, and Stockfish drie as kecke,  
is now their greatest cheere.  
And still a fulsome smell  
of pitch and tarre they feele,

## THE LIFE OF

And when Seasicke (God wot) they are,  
 about the shippe they reele.  
 And stomacks belcheth vp,  
 a dish that Hadocks seeke,  
 A bitter mess of sundry meates,  
 a Sirrope greene as leeke.  
 Then head and hart doth heaue,  
 and body waxeth cold,  
 Yet face will sweat, a heauie sight,  
 the same is to behold.  
 But they must ~~needes~~ abide  
 a greater brunt than this,  
 And hope that after hellish paynes,  
 there comes a time of blisse.  
 Yet note the torments strange,  
 that toying saylers haue,  
 Who liues at mercie of the Seas;  
 yea surge and swelling wave,  
 Would swallow vp the Shippe,  
 if Pylots were not good,  
 And some in time of great distresse  
 vnto their tackle stood.  
 Sometime a flaw of wind  
 blowes Maister ore the Hatch,  
 And boy fro toppe comes tumbling downe,  
 and at a cord doth catch  
 To save his sillie life,  
 aloofe then cries my mates,  
 No neerer short the Ship she tacks,  
 and on the sand she grates.  
 And plying for aboorde,  
 about the vessell goes,  
 And through the shroudes and clouted sayles  
 a gale of winde there bloes,  
 That seemes to shake the Barke,  
 in sunder every ribbe,  
 Then is no time to heaue the can,  
 to crie carous and bibbe,  
 But each man to his worke,  
 they fall and flie apace,  
 Innecke of this a man of warre  
 that seekes to giue the chace,  
 The spie in half a kenne,  
 vp Souldyoures ho in hast  
 The Captayne calls, yet vnder hatch,  
 a sort of them are plast,  
 To beate the enmie out,  
 that should the Shippe assayle,  
 At length the Cannon bullet flies  
 and shotte as thicke as hayle  
 Goes off to murther men,  
 and such a smoke doth rise,  
 A few may well regard the Seas,  
 or scarce behold the Skyes.

Some grone and bidde goodnight,  
their day watch waxeth dimme,  
Some ca not speake, their heads are off,  
and some have lost a limme.  
Some lyes on hatches lame,  
they haue no legges to stand,  
And some have lost the vse of arme,  
or maymed of a hand.  
And some are fighting still,  
and gets no harm at all,  
But he that speedeth best the while,  
makes boast thereof but small.  
These brawles and bloudy broyles  
to end or quiet brought,  
A new begginnes, as yll a storme,  
that troubles more their thought.  
The Rockes and wretched streights,  
that they must safely passe,  
The narrow Creekes and doubts they find  
in compasse of their glasse,  
Is daunger wonders great,  
so that these Saylers toyle,  
Rests all on hazards, care they come  
to any certayne soyle.  
I could rehearse a heape  
of sorrows that they haue,  
But you that liue in peace at home,  
and mince the matter braue,  
Will scarce believe a troth.  
and toyle that travelers take.  
Well noble Pilgrims, as in Verse  
I write this for your sake,  
In Prose at your returne,  
looke for a greater prayse.  
A Booke that to the loftie Skyes,  
your rare renowne shall rayse.  
This write I for your friends  
that you have left behinde,  
Your worthy wives, whose patient hearts  
beare many things in mind,  
And sitte and shakes their heads  
at that they can not mend,  
And many a sigh and sadde consaite,  
along the Seas they send,  
To follow those that flie  
from them God wot too fast  
And carried are in rotten Barkes  
about with every blast,  
And tosses vp and downe  
the Seas, our Lord knowes where.  
O Husbands when you saw your wiues,  
shedde man a bitter teare,  
How could you part from them?  
the cace is answered thus,

You are not ruled by love of babes,  
nor womens willes yewua.  
But guided by such grace,  
as God himself hath sent,  
And that you do is done indeed  
vnto a good intent.

God graunt you good successe,  
the whole harts ease you crave,  
As much of wealth and honour both  
as ever men may haue.

A safe and short returne,  
not long from home to dwell,  
A quiet happy iourney still,  
and so doere friends farewell.

FINIS.

## CHAPTER X

1580-1583

SIR HUMPHREY now found himself in a very difficult position. After years of effort he had succeeded in obtaining his colonizing patent; by mortgaging his own property and that of his wife, and by importuning his friends, he had raised enough money for the expedition of 1578, the ultimate object of which was to pave the way for his greater and more important project. Through dissensions, ill-luck, and mismanagement, it had proved a dismal failure; his stores and capital had been wasted, and himself, undeservedly, discredited.

In the meanwhile the term of his patent was running out. Six years had been allotted to him in which to plant his colony, and about half of them had already slipped away without anything being accomplished.

His ship, the *Anne Ager*, disappears from history, and of the fleet of seven staunch ships that set sail in 1578, but one remained to him, and that the least of the flock—the ill-fated little *Squirrel* of eight or ten tons.

Nevertheless, it appears that in 1581, he had some hope of setting forth again. Mendoza as usual knew all that was going on. In January 1581, he wrote to the King of Spain as follows: "I wrote in former letters that ships were being fitted out to leave this in February to plunder in the East Indies and on the way thereto, —Drake going to the Moluccas and Knollys to Brazil. Humphrey Gilbert, who accompanied Knollys on his other voyage, is to go with six ships to Cuba with the intention of fortifying himself in some convenient spot, whence he may sally forth to attack the flotillas leaving

San Domingo, New Spain, Peru, and other neighbouring places. The best way to stop their fit of activity will be for your Majesty to order that not one of the ships that sail for the Indies shall be spared and that every man on board of them shall be sent to the bottom."

The confident arrogance with which Mendoza consigns the English ships and sailors to perdition is somewhat surprising, seeing that Drake, in spite of the orders that had been given to destroy him, had but three months before returned from his famous circuit of the globe, having flouted the Spanish flag in every clime.

Once again also we find Gilbert credited with the intention of putting into practice one of the schemes proposed for the "annoyance" of the King of Spain.

We learn from the Acts of the Privy Council, that in October of the same year, Sir Humphrey, on the strength of his patent, had made plans to transport grain and provisions out of the country into parts beyond the seas. It was held by the Council that he had had his chance and could no longer claim the privileges of his patent, and in addition it was decided that his hardly obtained Letters Patent should be revoked. Further consideration, however, resulted in the cancelling of this irritating and unjust ruling. One would have expected Gilbert to give up in the face of so many discouragements, but he still struggled on.

Having nothing tangible left to mortgage, he evolved the brilliant idea of marketing some of the nebulous rights accorded to him by his Letters Patent. He apparently thought he could lay claim to all the Atlantic seaboard of North America, and, curiously enough, he found many who were willing to purchase from him specified tracts of that coast, solely on the strength of his patent.

The first transaction of this sort, in point of date, was with that extraordinary personage, Dr. John Dee. In his diary under the date of August 28, 1580, he

records that he had been in treaty with Sir Humphrey Gilbert for his grant of discovery, and on September 10 he writes: "Sir Humfry Gilbert graunted me my request to him, made by letter, for the royalties of discovery all to the North above the parallel of the 50 degree of latitude, in the presence of Stoner, Sir John Gilbert his servant or retainer; and thereupon he toke me by the hand with faithful promises in his lodging of John Cooke's house in Wichcross Street, where we dyned, only us three together, being Saturday."

Dr. Dee thus became possessed of the barren land of Labrador. The details of the deal would have been interesting. Did he select the northern portion of the seaboard, still hoping that Frobisher's golden dreams would be realized? or did Gilbert "push it on him," to use an "Americanism," as being the least desirable portion of the continent? and what was the consideration for which it was transferred?

The next to purchase an interest in his Letters Patent were Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard. Connected with this transaction is an extremely interesting item of history which seems generally to have escaped the notice of historians.

Elizabeth's policy toward the two great religious bodies then contending for the mastery in England has been often ably demonstrated. Her own religious feelings were not deep. She had been carefully nurtured in the Protestant religion, but during Mary's reign found it advisable, outwardly at least, to conform to Roman Catholicism. As soon as she became Queen she began quietly to reinstate the Church of England. But she had no prejudices against the Catholic religion. Provided she was Queen, she was willing that her people should worship how they pleased. The laws against the Catholics had not been enforced for many years, and Mass was regularly said in many private houses without any attempt on the part of the authorities to prevent it. Whether it was purely indifference, or a

larger spirit of tolerance which governed her, may be open to question. At all events, there had been no religious persecution in her reign, and she proudly boasted that no one had as yet suffered for his religious opinions. This condition of things might have continued, and quite a modern spirit of toleration have grown up in the land, but the pretensions of the Papacy to temporal power, and the dream of recovering England to the allegiance of the Papal See continually tempted aggressive methods from the Catholic party. The Jesuits, under Allen, Campion and Parsons, had just made a determined raid upon England. Deceived by the interest which their preaching naturally excited, they thought England about to become Catholic again, and not confining themselves to religious teaching they openly preached sedition and rebellion. Plots were hatched to assassinate Elizabeth, and once at least her life was in great danger. Matters were soon brought to such a pass that tolerance was no longer a virtue, and the Council decided to take action, and that quickly.

Parliament was summoned in January 1581, to deal with the situation. A speaker, quoted by Froude, expressed the sentiment of the House, when he said: "They have been encouraged by the lenity of the laws. We must show them that as the Pope's curses do not hurt us, so his blessings cannot save them. We must make laws to restrain these people, and we must prepare force to resist violence which may be offered here or abroad." An Act was then passed, 23 Elizabeth, chap. i., making it high treason to practise to withdraw subjects of the Crown of England to the Romish religion, forbidding the celebration of Mass, either publicly, or privately, and enforcing all to attend the services of the Established Church.

Campion and his associates were arrested, tortured and put to death; they endeavouring to show that they were martyrs for their religion, and the Queen and Council equally resolute to treat them solely as traitorous, rebellious subjects.

The result of these stringent enactments and firm suppression of treason soon became apparent. A large section of English Catholics, while devoted to their religion, were still loyal to their Queen and country, and when they were forced to choose between them, gave in their allegiance to the Church established by law. Another small section, equally patriotic, were yet anxious to continue to worship after the manner of their forefathers; to these Humphrey Gilbert's colonization scheme appeared to offer a solution of their difficulty. The leaders of this movement were Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard, who in 1582, obtained a grant from Sir Humphrey Gilbert of a portion of his rights under his Letters Patent.

Two bands of Huguenots had made attempts to free themselves from religious persecution by seeking a home in the New World. Why should not English Catholics take pattern by them and found a colony over-seas where they could maintain their allegiance to the Crown and yet enjoy unmolested the services of the Roman Catholic religion. The money obtained by the sale of this portion of his rights would also assist Gilbert to continue his project, now in danger of collapsing for want of funds. It seemed a good scheme all round, and was at once taken up with some enthusiasm.

Sir George Peckham was the son of Sir Edmund Peckham, Treasurer of the Mint through three reigns, who voluntarily exiled himself in 1564, on account of the triumph of Protestantism, and died in Rome in the same year. Sir George Peckham was a life-long friend and supporter of Humphrey Gilbert. He had joined him in the first expedition of 1578, was now again assisting; after Gilbert's death he endeavoured to keep alive the ideals for which he had sacrificed his life, and was an executor of his will. He and Lady Peckham were prominent Roman Catholics. In December 1580, they were both arrested and confined to the Marshalsea charged with having harboured and entertained

Campion the Jesuit, and one "Gilbarte a notorious practiser." On the same day Morice Pyckeringe, the keeper of the Gatehouse Prison, was also arrested, because he had received money from Sir George Peckham, and had distributed it to the poor Catholics whom he had in his keeping. When examined Pyckeringe told the following story: Lady Peckham came to him and asked if he had not many prisoners on account of their religion, to which he replied that he had too many poor people for that cause, and that they were likely to starve because he had no allowance for them. Lady Peckham then asked him if he would give them some money from Sir George and herself, to which he assented. Sir George Peckham then gave him two angells, which he handed to a poor scholar named Gifford, who had been a long time in prison, for distribution among the prisoners. This, he declared, was all that transpired. We are not informed, but trust that Pyckeringe was shortly released, and that the kindly generosity of Sir George and Lady Peckham was not visited heavily upon them.

Sir George Carey, Knight Marshall, was ordered to search Sir George Peckham's house in Bucks for treasonable letters; but pesusably nothing was found, for very soon the rigour of their imprisonment was relaxed.

In February 1581, Lady Peckham was released from the Fleet Prison, to join her husband, who was in the Tower, or to repair to her own house, as she wished; and Sir George Peckham at the same time was granted much greater freedom within the precincts of the Tower, "the rather in consideracion of his presente conformitie in resorting to the churche." In the following month, at the intercession of his friends, (chief among whom was no doubt Gilbert), and upon his undertaking to continue to conform, he was set at liberty. Perhaps in earnest of his conformity, at this time he presented the "Church House" at Denham, Bucks, for the use of

the Parish. But while conforming himself, Sir George Peckham busied himself to bring about a happier condition of things for poor Catholics. (Or did the initiative again come from Lady Peckham's tender heart?)

Sir Thomas Gerrard, knight of Bryn, had been High Sheriff of Lancaster, but conspiring to assist Mary, Queen of Scots, he was committed to the Tower, from whence he obtained his release only by the payment of enormous fines. The family were prominent Roman Catholics, and the family seat, "Brynne Hall," had been the resort of Papish priests, and the scene of many surreptitious celebrations of the Mass.

Sir Thomas was a cousin of Sir Gilbert Gerrard, the Attorney-General, to whom he was forced to relinquish the family seat, probably in return for his "interest exercised in sparing him from the punishment justly due on account of his treason."

The first rumour that we have of this movement on the part of the Catholics, is in an anonymous letter to Walsingham dated April 19, 1582, which reads: "There is a muttering among ye papists that Sir Humfrye Gilbarde goeth to seeke a newe founde land. Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard goeth w<sup>th</sup> him. I have hearde it said among ye papistes y<sup>t</sup> they hope it will prove ye best journeye for England y<sup>t</sup> was made these fortie yeres."

Mendoza, in a letter to the King of Spain, dated one week later, says: "Humphrey Gilbert is fitting out three more ships to go to Florida and land in the place where Stukely went, and subsequently Jean Ribault, who was killed by Pero Melandez. When the Queen was asked to assist this expedition, Gilbert was told in the Council that he was to go, and as soon as he had landed and fortified the place, the Queen would send him ten thousand men to conquer it, and hold the port."

On June 6, the articles of agreement between Sir Humphrey Gylberte of Compton, Sir Thomas Gerarde

of Brynne, and Sir George Peckham of Denham were signed and delivered; and also, on the same day, a further agreement with Sir George Peckham alone. The first document states that in consideration of certain amounts subscribed by Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's proposed voyage of discovery, and for the more speedy execution of the Queen's grant to him, the said Sir Humphrey granted to the said Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham the right to explore all that portion of the American coast from Cape Breton to Cape of Florida, and to select two islands of any four found by them, to be occupied and planted with a colony, and also on the mainland adjoining the said island, 1,500,000 acres of land. The grantees were to pay a small rental for the land and two-fifths of all gold, silver, pearls, or precious stones that may be found thereon. Sir Humphrey undertook to secure the Queen's consent to the transport of the would-be colonists, and to confirm the agreement upon his own return from his journey. The agreement with Sir George Peckham is expressed in almost the same words, and grants to him 500,000 acres adjoining the 1,500,000 granted to him and Sir Thomas Gerrard conjointly.

Mendoza was soon informed of the transaction, and made the following comment upon it—

"As I wrote some time ago, Humphrey Gilbert was fitting out ships to gain a footing in Florida, and in order to make this not only prejudicial to your Majesty's interest, but injurious to the Catholics here, while benefiting the heretics, Walsingham indirectly approached two Catholic gentlemen, whose estate had been ruined, and intimated to them that, if they would help Humphrey Gilbert in the voyage their lives and liberties might be saved, and the Queen, in consideration of the service, might be asked to allow them to settle there (Florida) in the enjoyment of freedom of

conscience and of their property in England, for which purpose they might avail themselves of the intercession of Philip Sidney. As they were desirous of living as Catholics, without endangering their lives, they thought the proposal was a good one, and they gave an account of it to other Catholics, who also approved of it, and offered to aid the enterprise with money. Petitions were presented to the Queen upon the subject, and she granted them a patent under the Great Seal of England to colonize Florida on the banks of the river Norumbega where they are to be allowed to live as their conscience dictates and to enjoy such revenues as they may possess in England. This privilege is not confined to those who leave here for the purpose of colonization, but is extended to all Englishmen away from England, even to those who may have been declared rebels, and whom the Queen now restores to her grace and favour, embracing them once more as loyal subjects. The only object of this is to weaken and destroy them by any means, since they have now discovered that persecution, imprisonment and the shedding of martyrs' blood only increase the number of Catholics; and if the proposed measure be adopted the seminaries abroad cannot be maintained, nor would it be possible for the priests who come hither to continue their propaganda, if there were no persons here to shelter and support them. By this means what little sound blood be left in this diseased body would be drained. I gave notice to the Catholics, through the priests who go amongst them, what are the real objects of the Queen and Council in extending this favour to them, and also that the country in question belonged to your Majesty and was defended by fortresses, so that directly they landed they would be slaughtered as Jean Ribaut was. In addition to this, I say, that their consciences will be touched, as they will be acting against the interests of his Holiness, who should be informed of the matter through Dr. Allen, so that they, the Catholics, might

learn whether they could properly undertake the voyage.

"This action of mine has caused some of them to withdraw whilst others, out of indifference, persist in their intention, believing that it is not really against your Majesty, because in the Map the country is called 'New France,' which, they say, proves that it was discovered by Frenchmen, and that since Cortes fitted out ships on the coast to go and conquer countries for the Catholic church, they could do the same. I have also written about it to the Abbot Briceno in Rome, as well as to Dr. Allen, pointing out how important it is that they should make every effort to prevent the enterprise in the interest of the conversion of England."

Mendoza either coloured his narrative to suit his correspondent, or was not so well informed as usual, for the proposition did not come originally from Walsingham, however much he may have urged it on afterwards. Nor were there any Letters Patent issued to Peckham and Gerrard, so far as can now be ascertained. Sir Philip Sidney's part in the transaction will be explained later.

Very shortly after finalizing their agreement with Gilbert, Gerrard and Peckham petitioned Walsingham for liberty to carry out the plan there outlined. They asked first, that all persons, whose names would be recorded in a book kept for the purpose, should be permitted to emigrate with their families to the New World, and to take with them all necessary provisions. All "recusances of abilitie," i.e. all well-to-do Roman Catholics, upon whom fines had been imposed for refusing to attend the services of the Established Church, should be permitted to make preparations for the voyage, so soon as they had paid their fines; and all other recusants should have the same permission, upon their undertaking to pay their fines "at soche tyme as God shall make them able to paie the same." They undertook not to

make the permission an excuse to transfer their allegiance to any foreign prince, nor to commit any breach of the peace. Every tenth person whom they took away was to be such as had no means of support in England.

Permission was undoubtedly granted at once. Mendoza wrote on July 25, 1852: "The ships that the Catholics were fitting out here are reduced to two, which will be taken by Humphrey Gilbert for the purpose of reconnoitring the best place to land next year. These two vessels are already in Southampton Water, and are only waiting a fair wind to sail."

On March 17, 1583, Mendoza writes: "The ships that Humphrey Gilbert was fitting out with the design of taking Catholics to the coast of Florida are now getting ready to sail, as the two ships they sent last summer to explore seem a long while gone."

There is but one other slight reference to these "spiers out of the land," which will be given later. They undoubtedly sailed and returned, but no account of their adventures has been preserved. Not content with the evidence of their own emissaries, some well-wisher of Gilbert, probably Hakluyt, was at pains to collect information from other sources. The greatest living authority on the seaboard of North America was David Ingram, a sailor, then living at Barking. He, if any one, should know all about it, for he had walked the whole distance from Florida to Cape Breton, a pedestrian feat which probably has never been accomplished by any one but himself and his two companions. He had been one of Hawkins' sailors in his disastrous voyage in 1568. After the defeat at San Juan de Ulloa, Hawkins found himself with one vessel, terribly overcrowded with his own men and those who had escaped from his captured ships. They had hardly any provisions, and would certainly have died of hunger and disease had they attempted the voyage home in such plight. A number of the men elected to be set on shore and take their chance of escape that way rather

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than to remain on board to certain death. One hundred and thirteen were therefore landed at some point on the coast of Florida. The greater part of them died or were killed by savages; some made their way back to Mexico; while another band set out to the northward. Incredible as it may appear, three men of this party, David Ingram, Browne, and Twide walked all the way to Cape Breton, and were rescued by a French vessel.

The result of this inquiry is contained in two papers at the Record Office. One is entitled "Sundrie reportes of ye Contrie Sir Humphrey Gilberte goes to discover," and the other, "Certain questions to be demaunded of David Ingram, sayler dwelling at Barkinge in the countye of Essex. What he observed in his travell on the north side of the river of May where he remayned three months or thereabouts." The first paper, so far as it relates to David Ingram, is also reprinted by Hakluyt in his edition of 1580, substantially in the same language. We presume that the Record Office paper is the original evidence as given "before Sir Fraunceys Walsingham, Knight, and divers others of good judgement and credit in August and September 1582," upon which Hakluyt elaborated. The Calendar of State Papers first gave the date of this paper as 1580 and afterwards as 1583, neither of which is right.

To deal first with Ingram's story. A bare narration of the facts would have been sufficiently marvellous, but he realized that, like Bottom, he was expected "to discourse wonders," and therefore gave glowing accounts of "rubies four inches long," pearls in "pottles" and "pecks," "bracelets of gold and silver," "breast plates of gold," "gold in the rivers in lumps as big as a man's fist," towns a mile or more in length, and in the houses utensils for humble purposes of massive silver. The fertility of the country was marvellous, palms, grapes, corn, cassaba, everywhere in profusion. Numerous rivers full of fish. Wild animals of every kind, including elephants, and sheep with red

wool. Of the people, their king and customs, he also gave wonderful accounts, especially of a nation of five or six thousand people governed by a negro.

The second paper forcibly reminds one of the saying "Ask me no questions and I will tell you no lies." To the leading questions put to him at his cross-examination, Ingram replied in the manner evidently expected. Each of his statements is quaintly prefaced: "He hath confessed," which seems to convey a sense of something extorted; but Ingram evidently lied readily. How he must have enjoyed the amazement of his august listeners! But apparently they at last became sceptical, for the final paragraph reads: "Divers other matters of great importance he hath confessed (yf they be true) which he sayeth that upon his lyfe he offereth to goe to the place to aprove the same true." Although he is not mentioned in Haies's narrative, it appears that he did accompany Sir Humphrey in 1583, for in Sir George Peckham's *Westerne Planting*, published immediately after Haies's return, there is the following note: "This David Ingram was in the last journey with Sir Humphrey and is very desirous to be employed thither again." Purchas tells us: "As for David Ingram's perambulation to the north parts, Master Hakluyt in his first edition published the same; but it seemeth some incredibilities of his reports caused him to leave him out in the next impression, the reward of lying not to be believed in truths."

The first paper contains, in addition to David Ingram's wild statements, tabulated lists of minerals, precious stones, trees, grains, beasts, birds, etc., to be found in the country, derived from "Verrazimis, Jaques Cartier, John Barros, Andrew Thevett, and John Walker. Of which number Sir Humphrey Gilbert did confer in person with the last three named." It has been suggested already that he might have met Thevett while at Havre in 1561-62, but where he conferred with John Barros, the Portuguese Livy, cannot be surmised

from anything we know of his history. John Walker is unknown to fame—a humble fisherman, probably, who made yearly trips across the Atlantic for codfish.

There are several interesting notes to these papers. One states that in 1579, "Simon Ferdinando, Mr. Secy, Walsingham's man, went and came to and from the said coast in three months in the little Frigatt without any other consort and arrived at Dartmouth from whence he had embarked when he began his viage." Ferdinando, it will be remembered, was Master of the *Falcon*, commanded by Walter Raleigh in Gilbert's expedition in 1578, and was referred to by Mendoza as "a great rogue who knows the coast well." The map known as Dee's map was said to have been drawn from data furnished by Ferdinando.

Another paragraph describes the finding of a silver mine, by John Walker on the river of Norumbega in 1580, and his voyage home in seventeen days.

A marginal note, to the description of the savages' houses by Ingram, reads: "Sir Humphrey Gilbert's man which he sent to discover the lande reporteth their houses to be built in lyke mannor rounde." We have a possible clue to the identity of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's man in the following—

Peckham, in a marginal note to his *Westerne Planting*, (which note by the bye may have been the work of his editor, Hakluyt) enumerates the English voyagers to America, and among them mentions William Battes. Among the officers of the *An Ager* in 1578 was a "Mr. Bates deputye of the ship," and it seems not unlikely that he was the man selected by Gilbert to make the preliminary voyage.

During the absence of his harbingers, Gilbert made several other transfers to his Catholic friends. On February 28, 1583, in consideration of divers sums disbursed by them, he transferred to Sir George Peckham and his second son, George, "all that river and port called by Master John Dee, Dee River, which river, by the description of John Verazanus, a Florentine

lyeth in septentrional latitude about 42 degrees, and hath his mouth lying open to the south, half a league broad on thereabouts, and entering the same bay between the east and north increaseth his breadth and continueth twelve leagues or thereabouts and then maketh a gulf of twenty leagues or thereabouts and containeth in itself five small islands, newly named the Cinq Isles, and the said Gulf and the five isles and all other isles lying within the said gulf together with 1,500,000 acres of land within the supposed continent lying next adjoining upon said river." They were to pay seven shillings per annum for every thousand acres "manured," (*i. e.* cultivated), and two-fifths of all the gold and silver found. A curious stipulation is made that if any person should seek the subversion of the "Commonwealth of Sir Humphrey," his heirs or successors, the contract was to become null and void. Poor Sir Humphrey! In imagination he saw himself overlord of half the continent of America.

Peckham then proceeded to sublet his interest; William Rowsell, of Cork Co., Devon, purchasing from him 500,000 acres, and paying "to Her Majesty and said patentee in all things as Sir George payeth, ratiably. And further paying to the said Sir George yearly on the first of January one steel target and one good arming sword in the name of Chiefage only."

In July 1583, Sir Humphrey made another deal; this time with Sir Philip Sidney, that "*preux chevalier, sans peur et sans reproche.*" To quote John Richard Green: "Sidney, the nephew of the Earl of Leicester, was the idol of the time, and perhaps no figure reflects the age more fully and more beautifully. Fair as he was brave; quick of wit as of affection; noble and generous in temper; dear to Elizabeth as to Spenser; the darling of the Court and of the Camp; his learning and genius made him the centre of the literary world which was springing into birth on English soil."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sidney was the son of Sir Henry Sidney, Gilbert's old commander in Ireland. In a letter to the Earl of Stafford, on July 21, he

Mendoza had reported some time before that Sidney was interested in the proposed Roman Catholic colony, now to take effect in duly executed Articles of Agreement with Sir Humphrey. It is a more interesting document than the others, and contains stipulations not found in any of them. The cause for the transaction is stated to be Sir Humphrey's anxiety for the more speedy execution of Her Majesty's grant to him, and the enlargement of Her Majesty's Dominions. Sidney, his heirs and successors, are empowered to discover and occupy 3,000,000 acres, paying for every 1000 acres so discovered and manured, fifteen pence and two-fifths of all the gold and silver that may be found therein. A further payment of one halfpenny sterling for every acre manured is to be made for the maintenance of a Navy and Soldiers, and for the general defence of those

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says, "We are half persuaded to enter into the journey of Sir Humphrey Gilbert very eagerlie, whereunto your Mr. Hackluit hath served for a very good trumpet." Hakluyt had intended to accompany Gilbert on his voyage, but just at this time receiving the appointment of Chaplain to the Earl of Stafford, was unable to do so. The Sidney and Gilbert families were also distantly connected by marriage. Philip Sidney's brother, Robert, married Barbara Gammage, a great beauty and heiress. Raleigh, at the Queen's instigation, tried to interfere in the disposal of the lady's hand, claiming that he was "her father's cousin germane considering she hath not any neerer kin nor better."

Since the above was written I have had the pleasure of reading the recently published, and most interesting *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, by Mr. Percy Addleshaw. Mr. Addleshaw considers Sidney's chief characteristic to have been his uncompromising Protestantism. He says, "The greatest blot upon his career is his loathing for those of the old faith. He hated all Catholics with a bitterness quite unwarranted by facts." Yet we find him chosen by Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard to help them in their scheme to plant a Catholic colony in the New World. It is barely possible, of course, that in appearing to assist the Catholics in this matter, he was but pursuing the idea which Mendoza suggested,—that it was a plot devised against the Catholics, intended to get them out of the country and deposited where they would be unable to help the cause of their religion. Mr. Addleshaw, in commenting on Sidney's transaction with Peckham, has overlooked the fact that it was ostensibly to assist the Catholics. He has also mistaken the nature of the grant obtained by Sidney. It was not by a charter, procured by persuasion from Elizabeth, but by articles of agreement with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, that he secured his principality in America.

countries. This fund was to be kept in a treasure-house set apart for that purpose, and to be under the management of the chiefest governor and thirteen councillors for martial and marine causes to be chosen by the people. In addition, one-sixtieth part of all lands of every temporal person and one-fortieth part of all lands and revenues of every spiritual person were to be allowed for the maintenance of maimed soldiers and for the encouragement of learning—equally worthy objects, but here curiously associated. Sidney and his successors were to have the execution of all laws within their boundaries, but the whole tract remained within "the commonwealth of Sir Humphrey." Knowing the esteem in which Elizabeth held Sidney, "the chiefest jewel in her kingdom," his influence was enlisted to get permission for the promoters to transport would-be colonists out of the kingdom, it being a matter of grave question at the time, whether it was good policy for England to allow her populace to leave her shores, even for the purpose of founding a new Empire

Sidney promptly made an agreement with Sir George Peckham by which he transferred to him all his recently acquired principality; from which it seems probable, that the grant may have been intended for Peckham from the first, Sidney only lending it the weight of his name.

The fact that the author of the *Arcadia* interested himself in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's colonizing project is perhaps not without literary significance. That curious romance was written about this time for the amusement of the Countess of Pembroke, during an enforced retirement at Wilton. Perhaps the stories current about the New World had set Sidney's imagination working; or perhaps it was the other way, and when Gilbert made his proposition, Sidney dreamed of another *Arcadia* in the proposed colony. However that may be, Sidney materially assisted Gilbert and readily entered into the scheme to plant a colony of English Catholics in the new-found land.

It is a matter of great regret that the sums of money<sup>1</sup> paid to Gilbert for his impalpable rights cannot be ascertained.

Mendoza did all he could to thwart the scheme. Writing on May 6, 1583, he says: "The Council have suggested to the Catholics to contribute a sum of money to carry on the enterprise in Florida, upon which Humphrey Gilbert has sailed with the ships I described to your Majesty, in which case they promise to release the prisoners and will allow them to live without persecution. As they have been warned that the expedition is an illicit one, and fear that the offer is only a trap to discover them, they are keeping in the background. Although some few Catholics out of indifference and penury have gone with Gilbert, selling what little property was left to them for the purpose." Here the incident closes, never to be revived again.

In the next charter for the colonization of Newfoundland, granted in 1610, the following clause was inserted: "And lastly because the principall effects which we can desire of this action is the conversion of the people in those parts, if any be there inhabiting, unto the true worship of God and Christian religion, in which respect we would be loathe that any person should be permitted to passe that be suspected to asserthe the superstitions of the Church of Rome."

James, however, soon departed from this ultra-bigoted view, for in 1623, he granted a charter to Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, whose design was to colonize with his co-religionists chiefly, if not entirely. His colony was planted at Ferryland, in Newfoundland, but was soon abandoned,—a scoffing West Country ship-master declaring that "the air of Newfoundland agrees perfectly well with all God's creatures except Jesuits and schismatics, a great mortality among whom so frightened my Lord Baltimore that he utterly left the country."

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Addleshaw says that at this time Sidney was in great financial difficulty. Possibly, therefore, he may have made money out of the deal by reselling to Sir George Peckham at a profit.

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SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

*From a portrait, 1599.*

Sir George Peckham, although apparently conforming, continued to assist the Roman Catholics. In 1584, and again in 1587, he was reported to be harbouring Jesuits and recusants. Sir Thomas Gerrard remained true to his faith. He was imprisoned for treason in 1588, and was not released until 1594. Five years later, he again incurred the anger of the Queen by assisting a Catholic priest to escape from the Marshalsea.

It is necessary now to return somewhat in point of date, and to discuss other matters preparatory to Gilbert's departure on his great enterprise. As befitted every man with a family about to start upon a perilous voyage, Sir Humphrey first made his will. This "writing indented" is dated July 8, 1582. "Calling to mind the mortality of mankind and the uncertain event of long voyages in marine and martial affairs, and carefully foreseeing least through his death, captivity, or other mishap, this intended enterprise might quail, and for the avoiding of such inconveniences as might ensue to the hindrance of so godly and honourable an enterprise," Sir Humphrey appointed his brother, Sir John Gilbert of Greenway, Devon, Sir George Peckham of Denham, Bucks, and William Archer (Ager) of Borne, Kent to be his trustees and executors. He placed in their hands the control of his kingdom, to be used for the benefit of his wife, and his children during their minority, in the following manner. All customs, rents, royalties, jurisdictions, and services were to be reserved for his heirs male. To Dame Anne his wife, he bequeathed one third of these revenues, during the minority of his heir male, to be reduced to one fifth after said heir attained his majority; in addition he gave to her one entire seignory or lordship, fifty English miles square, at her choice, which was to become a jointure for the wife of the Chief Governor of the country under the Crown of England for ever.

To each one of his sons he gave "a like seignory at least," and to each daughter a lesser but still substantial portion of twenty square miles. Each was to have the

execution of justice within his or her domain, and to pay a small fee to the general purse. In addition, each was to furnish, forty days out of every year, a well-armed soldier on horseback.

His executors were empowered to dispose of lands to settlers, reserving sites for towns and forts, and making provision for commons and pasture land. For the better maintenance of poor inhabitants ten acres of land were to be given for every house built, on payment of a small rent.

Every person sent over at the expense of the mother country was to have a lease for three lives, sixty acres of land, with allowance for "housebote, hedgebote, and ploughbote,"—terms in ancient English law meaning an allowance of wood for the repairs of houses, hedges, and ploughs, or other farm implements. These tenants were to pay small rentals, and after death or alienation "a best beast for a Herriot" (?).

Each emigrant was required to bring with him the following: a quarter of wheat, 20s.; four bushels of barley, 6s. 8d.; four bushels of oats, 3s. 4d.; two bushels of beans, 5s.; two bushels of peas, 4s.; one hatchet, 12d.; one pickaxe, 12d.; one hand saw, 12d.; one spade, 12d.; total, 43s. A modest but efficient outfit, providing for the building of their houses and the cultivation of the land. If they came furnished, at their own charge, with "a sword, a dagger, and a hargabusse of encrease," they were to have six score acres. Every gentleman, who brought with him five men fully equipped and furnished, was to receive two thousand acres in fee simple; if ten men, four thousand acres, and so on in proportion. And each man so brought was to receive six score acres.

Every tenant to sixty acres of land was bound to maintain a longbow and a sheaf of arrows, together with a sword, a dagger, and wooden target. Tenants of twenty-four acres were to maintain a fighting man besides themselves, and every gentleman leasing 2000

acres was enjoined to keep a light horse furnished for the wars, "after such time as God shall send sufficient horses in those parts, and in the meantime to keep two men for shot in lieu of such horses." One halfpenny sterling per acre was to be levied for the maintenance of an army and navy for the general defence of the country.

Provision was made in addition for the maintenance of maimed soldiers, for learning, lectures, schools, and "other good and godly uses in such sort as is thought most meet by the chief magistrates and law makers."

Sir Humphrey further decreed that every country parish should be just three miles square, "with the church in the midst thereof;" every minister, besides his tythes, was to have three hundred acres of land as near his church as possible. Plurality of benefices was strictly prohibited, and if any minister absented himself for more than six months in any one year he was to be deprived of his living. Every bishop was endowed with ten thousand acres, and every archbishop with twenty thousand acres.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Commonwealth was an ideal one. We can imagine the long hours spent by him in dreaming over its possibilities. He intended that it should be practically an absolute monarchy, although thirteen councillors elected by the people were to assist the Governor in organizing its defence. The law-making powers granted by his Patent made him almost absolute, and he evidently calculated to exercise them. It was an idyllic picture that he painted. The neatly-laid-out parishes centreing around the church and parsonage; the schools, with a curriculum to be modelled doubtless upon "Queen Elizabeth's Achademy." Remembering the Act passed for the establishment of Leicester's Hospital in Warwick, he also arranges for the maintenance of his old soldiers; ministers, bishops, and archbishops are all to be provided for. One wonders how the Roman Catholic colonists would have fared,

and if they would have enjoyed the freedom promised them, for, as will be told later, the first English ordinance declared on the North American continent by Gilbert was that the public exercise of religion should be according to the Church of England.

Sir Humphrey was a prophet and a seer, far ahead of his time, and many long years were to elapse before a Colony could be firmly established.

It will be noted that no rentals were to be paid until seven or ten years after the lands had been occupied, showing that Gilbert realized the truth afterward enunciated by Bacon in his essay on "Plantations": "Planting of countries is like planting of wood, for you must take account to leese almost twenty years profit and expect your recompense in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years."<sup>1</sup>

Gilbert did not, however, realize, as did Bacon, that the idle and vicious would not make good colonists. His proposal to employ them arose from a confusion of ideas; the mother country was to be benefited by relieving her of "those needy people who were daily consumed of the gallows." As such it was an argument in favour of colonization; but from the point of view of the colonies it was a fatal error. Bacon detected the fallacy. "It is a shameful and unblessed thing," he writes, "to take the scum of the people and wicked, condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant, for they will ever live like rogues and not fall to work, but be lazy and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, to the discredit of the plantation." Painfully was Gilbert to realize this truth even in his short experience. Another sad error was fallen into by Gilbert, which Bacon detected and corrected. Deceived by the reports from the

<sup>1</sup> Bacon was himself a shareholder in the Company that planted the oldest colony now remaining under the Crown of England, that of Guy's Colony at Cupid's Cove, Newfoundland, in the year 1610.

Spanish colonies, and by the accounts brought back by Ingram and John Walker, Gilbert thought the New World abounded in the precious metals. A condition of every grant made by him was, that he was to receive two-fifths of all the gold, silver, pearls or precious stones that might be found, one-half of which he was to pay as tribute to the Crown of England. The hope of finding gold was one of the principal inducements offered, and drew many subscribers. Bacon, however, with the wisdom born of twenty-five years' longer experience, says: "Moil not too much underground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain and useth to make the planters lazy in other things."

A passage in the letter written by Raleigh to Cecil about this time, which has already been quoted, excites our curiosity. Speaking of Gilbert, he says: "Would God his own behaviour were such in times of peace as it did not make his good services forgotten." It seems to infer that Gilbert had acted in some reprehensible manner; but, apart from the false accusation of piracy trumped up by Mendoza, there is no rumour of any charge against him. Nor is it likely that it was this charge of piracy to which Raleigh referred, for he himself was implicated in it. From all his contemporaries we hear nothing but high praise of Gilbert's character; it seems likely, therefore, that the imputation in Raleigh's letter was not of this nature. Perhaps Gilbert's absorption in his colonization enterprises for the moment caused Raleigh to be impatient with him. In Raleigh's opinion he should have kept himself in prominence and sought other military commands, putting to the sword and hanging unfortunate Irish kerns, for instance, instead of laying the foundation of Greater Britain.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE EVE OF DEPARTURE

1582-1583

THE money obtained from the Catholic would-be colonizers was not sufficient to enable Gilbert to fit out his expedition, and he therefore, in quite modern style, converted himself and his schemes into what would now be called a Joint-Stock Company. The title of the Company was somewhat cumbrous—"The Merchant Adventurers with Sir Humphrey Gilbert," but it was thoughtfully provided that the name might be changed whenever "it shall please God that ye Queen's Majesty or Sir Humphrey Gilbert shall give the contries some other name or names." The members of the Company, with their apprentices, were to be free of all manner of trade to the countries discovered, "all fishes and fishing thereabout excepted,"—a very important exception when Newfoundland comes to be considered.

Nearly all the members of this new Company were inhabitants of the town of Southampton, and Sir Humphrey undertook that all merchandise from his "Commonwealth" should be imported into that city and no other, unless specially permitted by the officers of the Company. A Staple or Mart was to be established there especially for the marketing of the Company's goods. The Company was to be governed by four officers, to be chosen by Sir Humphrey before his departure—a Governor, a Treasurer, Agent, and Secretary. If any of these officers died or resigned while Gilbert was away, Sir Francis Walsingham, "Chief and Principal Patron of the Company," was to nominate

their successors. The annual meeting of the Company was to be held on August 1 in each year, in Southampton, at 8 o'clock in the morning, when, after divine service or sermon, "eight of the most wisest and discreetest" persons were to be elected directors of the Company, and all "convenient orders, decrees, and statutes" for the government of the Society were to be passed. The shares of the Company were to be £5 each, either in money or goods. And as land was plenty in the New World, and promises cheap, each holder of one share was entitled to 1000 acres of land.

Every adventurer in person, and not in goods, was to be free of all trade in the countries occupied, that of fish and fishing again excepted, and those who adventured both their person and purse were entitled to a double portion of lands. In order to induce the adventurers in person to settle in the country, "now intended to be discovered, conquered, seased or possessed," a redoubled portion of land was offered, provided they remained there at least eight months. Volunteers for the new colony were evidently not numerous, as was to be expected. It was an unheard-of thing at that time for English people to leave their homes to start afresh in a country about which so little was really known, and so many fabulous tales related. More than ordinary courage, or more than ordinary unhappiness at home, was required to make a colonist, but the grant of thousands of acres of land would doubtless attract many

**WARRIORS.**

The lands were to be "in free soccage tenure," paying to Sir Humphrey, his heirs or assigns, after the first seven years, ten shillings for every 1000 acres. "In further reward and for perpetual memory" of these first adventurers, they were "fully discharged from all tortures, marshall laws, arrests or attachments," notwithstanding any powers or authority granted to Sir Humphrey for the governance of the countries discovered. A rash promise one would suppose, consider-

ing the class from which he proposed to draw his first colonists.

The blood relations of Sir Humphrey and Lady Gilbert, presumably to the remotest cousinship, seeing that no limit is placed to the tie of consanguinity, were made free of all liberties, immunities, and privileges in the countries about to be taken possession of.

The next clause in the agreement is quite refreshing. Sir Humphrey indulges himself with a little revenge. For twelve years the Muscovy Company had thwarted his plans and balked his ambitions; now that he had obtained his charter in spite of their opposition, he took care that no one connected with that Company should share in the glorious results of his endeavours, now about to be enjoyed. He therefore expressly inhibited and forbade, that any member of the Muscovy Company or their children, should hold shares in his Company, or be admitted into his kingdom. Included in this terrible deprivation were such inhabitants of the town of Southampton as did not at once join his Company. His attitude is natural. He considered that he was bestowing a great favour upon the town of Southampton in thus singling it out before all other towns in the realm, and that any inhabitant should stand aloof and not recognize the privilege thus conferred upon him was certainly annoying. If any of these shortsighted people or any member of the Muscovy Company dared to set foot in his domains, he undertook to seize and confiscate their ships, and divide the proceeds between himself and his Company.

While he remembered his enemies he did not forget his friends, and stipulated with his new Company, that all the adventurers in his first expedition of 1578, should be to all intents and purposes members of the present Company, and share with them in his generous partition of the North American continent.

For the relief of any poor and decayed members of the Company, Sir Humphrey set aside 10,000 acres of

land and one per cent. of his rentals. The members of the Company, not to be outdone, also promised one per cent. of their receipts for the same charitable purpose.

The last clause of the agreement provides that any dispute arising between Sir Humphrey and his Company should be referred for settlement to the Lord Chancellor of England for the time being.

The date of this interesting document is November 2, 1582. Viewed from our standpoint it was a preposterous proposition, but to Sir Humphrey and his colleagues it was real and genuine, and seriously they debated every clause. The foundations of their empire were to be well and truly laid. Sir Humphrey thought imperially, and saw a vision of a great commonwealth over which he was to reign supreme under the crown of England. He peopled it with England's surplus population, who had been unfortunate or unhappy at home, but who would now obtain another chance in a sphere where they were not handicapped by their past.

We find nowhere in his writings any cant about converting the savage inhabitants of the New World,—an argument which was urged with so much insistence by Eden, Hakluyt, Peckham, and other early supporters of colonization, but which the early colonizers themselves so entirely neglected. The Spaniards made a continual parade of the conversion of the natives, and more cruelty was perpetrated and more lives sacrificed in the name of religion, than even on the altar of the Gold Demon.

Nor was mere gain the incentive which prompted Gilbert, although as much cannot be said for the Adventurers with him, who, when not induced by friendship or relationship, undoubtedly dreamed of "Africa and golden joys," and were entirely mercenary in their interests. A list of the Adventurers is still preserved, among whom may be noted: Lord Burleigh, Earls Warwick, Sussex, Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir Henry Sidney, Philip Sidney,

John Dee, and Anthony Parkhurst.<sup>1</sup> A separate list is given of the Southampton Adventurers<sup>2</sup> and the amount each subscribed, headed by Sir Francis Walsingham with £50. The total amount subscribed was £555, equal to about \$22,000 of our money.

Walsingham endeavoured to interest other cities in the enterprise. Hakluyt preserves some correspondence, consisting of letters from Walsingham to himself, and to Mr. Thomas Aldworth, Mayor of Bristol, and the reply of the Mayor, the gist of which seems to be that the Mayor in a letter to Walsingham had expressed the interest of himself and the city in maritime adventures; thereupon Walsingham wrote to Hakluyt commending him for his studies in that line, and entrusting to him a letter to the Mayor. In this letter he informed the Mayor that Sir Humphrey was then about to sail on a voyage of discovery, and urged him to send two ships to join the expedition. Mr. Thomas Aldworth forthwith called the merchants of Bristol together to hear Mr. Hakluyt on the subject, and to discuss the project; with the result, that instead of helping Gilbert, they offered to fit out two vessels and to place them under the command of Carlile—Walsingham's son-in-law—to sail in six weeks. The date given in Hakluyt to the first two letters was March 1582, but from the context and the date of the reply it is certain that it should have been 1583.

The merchants of Bristol intended to join hands with the Muscovy Company, and a committee of this Company was appointed to confer with Carlile upon the intended attempt upon the hithermost parts of America. Their arguments and proposals were embodied in a

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Parkhurst accompanied Hawkins as a gentleman adventurer in 1563, and afterwards regularly prosecuted the fishery in Newfoundland.

<sup>2</sup> Among the Southampton Adventurers are found two named Capelin. This is the name given to a little fish found in Newfoundland waters in great abundance, and may possibly explain its derivation, which has been hitherto inexplicable.

paper also preserved by Hakluyt, but as it was undated it has been generally misunderstood and the date 1574 given to it. The Committee expressed themselves well persuaded of the suitableness of the country, and proposed that a colony of 100 men should be planted there to gain knowledge of the country. The cost was to be borne by the cities of Bristol and London. They recommended that her Majesty should grant Letters Patent to Carlile, conveying practically the same privileges as were contained in Gilbert's patent, especially the permission to colonize. As Gilbert had carefully excluded them from any share in his privileges, they no doubt thought this an excellent opportunity to be revenged on him, and to secure the coveted prize for themselves.

But Carlile was not altogether pleased with their proposals, and he wrote a long discourse in April 1583, which is also to be found in Hakluyt, to dissuade the merchants of the Muscovy Company from demanding too quick a return for their investment, seeing that the amounts they had at stake were quite insignificant. His proposition was mainly to colonize Newfoundland,—the many advantages of which he dilated on at considerable length.

Neither he nor the Committee of the Muscovy Company made any reference to Gilbert, whose thunder they were so barefacedly trying to steal.

But the Queen and Council did not accede to this request for Letters Patent, undoubtedly considering that Gilbert held the field, and must be given a fair chance to operate under his grant. Nor does it appear that Walsingham went out of his way to forward his son-in-law's suit, for Gilbert still continued to address him as his chief friend and patron. On February 7, 1583, Gilbert wrote a most interesting letter to him. He had heard from Walsingham that her Majesty, having "especial care for his well being and success, desired him to stay at home, as a man noted for no good hap at sea."

This was naturally a great shock to his enthusiasm,

and an awkward matter to deal with. He must express his obligation for the Queen's interest in him; yet he bitterly resented the imputation on his ability. He is at much pains to explain the cause of the failure of his previous expedition, and darkly hints that it need not have turned out so badly had he not preferred his credit to his gain. He did not himself break the promise he had made to her Majesty, nor did he permit any of his Company to do so. The nature of the promise is not explicitly given, but one infers that it was his undertaking not to engage in piracy. It was rather hard, in the light of this statement, that he should have been charged with this crime and brought from Ireland at a critical moment to answer Mendoza's accusations. He then explains that the delay in the present voyage was not from any fault of his, but was God's doing, who sent such a violent head wind that he was unable to sail. It was well known that vessels had been blown from the Azores to England without setting a sail; how was it possible for him to set out in the teeth of such a tempest? He next cunningly reminds Walsingham that the Queen was to receive one-fifth of all the gold, silver, and precious stones obtained, without any cost or risk to herself. Elizabeth's idiosyncrasies were evidently well known to him. Continuing, he says: "The great desire I have to perform the same hath cost me first and last the selling and spending of a thousand marks and a year of my own getting, besides the scorn of all the world *for conceiving so well of a matter that others held as ridiculous, although now by my means better thought of.* If the doubt be my want of skill to execute the same, I will offer myself to be opposed by all the best navigators and cosmographers within this realm. If it be cowardliness, I seek no other purgation thereof than my former service done to Her Majesty. If it be the suspicion of daintiness of diet or sea sickness, in those both I will yeild myself second to no man living, because that comparison is

rather hardness of body than a boast of virtue. But how little account soever is made of the matter or of me, I trust Her Majesty, with the favour of my 28 years service, will allow me to get my living, as well as I may honestly (which is every subject's right) and not to constrain me by idle abode at home, to beg my bread with my wife and children, seeing I have Her Majesty's grant and license under the Great Seal of England for my departure, without the which I would not have spent a penny in this action; wherein I am most borne to Her Majesty for her great favour, which of all things I most desire."

Gilbert claimed for himself the credit for having urged, in season and out of season, in the face of ridicule and abuse, his theories about colonization, until at last they were beginning to be generally accepted.

The contents of this letter would at once have been made known to Elizabeth, and whether moved by the hope of gain held out to her, or by the justice of Gilbert's plea, she withdrew her objections.

But there was now another influence at work in Gilbert's interest. A few months before, Raleigh had returned from Ireland and attracted the notice of the Queen. Perhaps he had been introduced by Sir Humphrey. Perhaps old Fuller's story of his chivalrous action in spreading his cloak over "a plashy place" for Elizabeth to walk upon is true; perhaps it was his able arguments before the Council on the Irish situation; but more probably it was his own gallant figure that attracted the elderly susceptibilities of Elizabeth; in any case he had rapidly won the position of first favourite,<sup>1</sup> temporarily replacing "her sweet Robin," Leicester. His influence became at once so great that in May 1583, even the great Lord Burleigh himself asked for his support, and at the same period we find Raleigh writing to his rival Leicester that the Queen began again to have him in

<sup>1</sup> Raleigh was so ungrateful in after years as to refer to Elizabeth as "a lady whom time had surprised."

regard. It thus happened that he was able to further the suit of his beloved and admired elder brother, and undoubtedly did so, for Elizabeth chose him to be the medium to convey to Gilbert her final assent to his departure. This he did in the following touching letter—

“*Richmond, March 7, 1583.*”

“BROTHER:—I have sent you a token from Her Majestie, an ancor guided by a lady as you see; and farther, Her Highness willed me to send you worde that she wished you as great good hap and safty to your ship, as if she herself were thear in person; desiring you to have care for your sealf, as of that which she tendereth; and therefore for her sake you must provide for it accordingly.

“Further, she commandeth me that you leve your picture with me. For the rest I leve till our meeting, or to the report of this bearer, who would needs be messenger of this good neuse. So I commit you to the will and protection of God, Who send us such life or death as He shall please, or hath appointed.

“Your treu brother,

“W. RALEGH.”

The portrait of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, here reproduced, is in the possession of his lineal descendant the Rev. Walter Raleigh Gilbert. It bears the following inscription: “Syr Humfrye Gilbert, Knight—drowned in the discovery of Virginia 1584”; the mistake in the date indicating that it is not quite contemporary, unless the inscription was added incorrectly at a later date. The portrait generally reproduced is that contained in Holland’s *Herwolgia Anglica* (see Frontispiece). A manuscript note on the copy in the British Museum reads: “Taken from a picture in the Strand.” It seems rather a delicate and refined type of face to accompany such a splendid physique. His brow is Shakespearian and thoughtful, and his demeanour dignified. It is a

beautiful face, and seems to shadow forth his "prophetic soul." The motto "QUID NON" which appears on his portrait, and was generally used by him, is significant of the man. No idea was too original for him, no enterprise too daring. Why not a North-West Passage? Why not a London University? Why not England, Mistress of the Seas? Why not an Empire over-seas? The originality, and the "great unrest" of his mind, stand out even in that age of moral and intellectual upheaval.

The assistance rendered by Raleigh was opportune. To have been stopped again at that time would have broken Gilbert's heart, even as already he was broken in purse and credit. The time of his charter would have elapsed, and the work of his lifetime been wasted.

It is not, however, sufficient for the biographers of Raleigh to record the simple obvious fact of this brotherly assistance, but they must now magnify their hero into the position of prime mover and organizer of the expedition. Although Gilbert began his plans when Raleigh was a schoolboy, and had them practically matured before he was out of his teens; although he was a prominent man, a leader and commander in Ireland and the Low Countries, when Raleigh was an unknown subaltern serving under him; although Raleigh obtained his first command at sea under Gilbert in 1578; although Gilbert was ceaselessly working out his plans, pulling every string, making desperate efforts to raise money for his expedition, while Raleigh was serving in a subordinate position under Grey in Ireland; and although the progression of Gilbert's ambitions is manifest, from the beginning in 1566 until the final attempt in 1583; yet, now, Raleigh becomes the leader, and Gilbert merely the tool! Raleigh's latest biographer even credits him with having incited Walsingham to propose the Catholic colonization scheme; upon what grounds it is hard to imagine. It will be clear to any one who consults the records here collected, that Raleigh had absolutely nothing to do with the matter, but that it was the natural

outcome of the friendship which had long subsisted between Gilbert and Sir George Peckham. Another writer declares that Gilbert obtained his Patent in 1578 through Raleigh's influence,—a glaring historical anachronism!

When the mantle slipped from Gilbert's shoulders, as it was soon to do, Raleigh eagerly assumed it. The first English colonizing expedition under Gilbert failed miserably. The next under Raleigh achieved a little more and made a proportionately greater failure. But Gilbert was the originator and the leader, and Raleigh only the follower.

In addition to the influence Raleigh was able to use with Elizabeth he also rendered, or intended to render, most important practical assistance. He purchased, or some say had specially built from designs of his own, a vessel for the expedition, sparing no expense in her equipment. She was the largest of the fleet, being 200 tons, but, as we shall hear, was the cause of bitter disappointment.

The Queen's consent being thus obtained, the time grew on for departure. After the manner of the age, it was but fitting that a bard or herald should chronicle the auspicious event, and sing the praises of the hero of the expedition. On this occasion the office was filled by one Stephanus Parmenius of Buda, "late bedfellow" of Hakluyt at Oxford, in an "Embarkation Ode" of about 300 elegant Latin hexameters, preceded by an address, "To the noble and illustrious Humphrey Gilbert, Knight."

The bard first apologizes that he, "an unknown foreigner" should have attempted the lofty theme when there were so many gifted men better able to accomplish it. Born of Christian parents, amid Turkish slavery and degradation, he had been sent abroad to visit the universities of Europe. During three years he had wandered about the Continent, viewing the cities, churches, and manners of the various nations, and making the acquaint-

ance of famous men. But without being invidious he was compelled to say that no country had pleased him so much as Britain. "Wherefore I had long desired to display some token of gratitude for the kindness and consideration which had been shown me. While I was engaged calling upon and making the acquaintance of several excellent men in London, my friend Richard Hakluyt took me to visit you, informing me of your intention of founding, at an early date, a colony in the New World. While this object was under discussion, I had the opportunity of recognizing your powers both of body and mind as worthy of undying record, aye, and I did so recognize them, and regarded them with such honour that when, shortly afterwards, I heard your virtues and exploits further extolled on all hands, I thought this by far the most favourable opportunity for me to discharge in some measure the debt of friendship and devotion due to you and to your country. This is the source to which my Embarkation Ode owes its origin. It remains for me, noble Sir, to wish you a safe and prosperous journey and return, and beg you to consider my great regard for you in accordance with your kindness, influence, and high renown. Farewell. March 31, 1583."

The following is a somewhat free translation of the Ode, omitting some of the less pertinent parts.

It begins with an address to the Thames "river blessed with unbroken repose," and promises a joyful celebration when the *Argo*, now to be dispatched, returns in triumph. It continues after this manner: "What means this gift of swiftly changing sky? The heavy storm clouds are resolved into thin air, the mists disperse, calm seas shine in the sun, the South wind is lulled and the propitious East wind grows stronger. Sails are spread to catch the following breeze, sails with which Gilbert, that lasting ornament of the British race, directs his course to an unknown world across an almost unknown sea. When shall I be permitted to sing the

song of praise of our hero, and telling of deeds accomplished stir the hearts of wondering grandsons?

"Father Nereus himself with favouring trident controls the waves. Here and there the dolphins leap from out the Ocean depths, as though offering their curved backs to bear up the keel which ploughs the friendly waters. Old Proteus too, who feeds deep down the herds of Neptune, draws back the veil of fate for future ages and sings of deeds to be achieved by children yet unborn.

"O! Anglia, happy island, famed for the blessings of peace and war, the glory of the wide world, now rich in resources and thickly peopled, having won renown by thy deeds, and reared thy head on high throughout the world, careful of thy destiny, lest some day thy wide spread dominions should fall by their own weight, now may'st thou win new city walls for thy sons and extend thy rule far and wide.

"Hail Gilbert! noble heart, to thee alone through all these ages is reserved a region never ruled by any king. A new land awaits thy search, a land which knows no Babylonian sceptre nor unconquered might of Macedon, no Persian valour ever reached, nor ever felt the blow of Latian arms. In that land never did Mohamamed's tribe mutter their prayers, nor cunning Spaniards practise their bloody cruelties in religion's name.

"There a race of mortals dwells, of human stock unknown. Perhaps a remnant of the ancient family of Fauns; sprung from mother earth, they still retain their ancient manners and lead the life of primitive man's rude age. What time, Saturn fleeing from the wrath of his son made his home in Latinus and established there the golden age, thence degenerating through the ages of silver and bronze to that of iron, once more (so sing the bards) to be restored to that of gold. Am I deceived, or is the golden age about to dawn again? When I turn my eyes towards the Britains, dwelling amid the snows, I see many proofs of the returning

golden era. For there God's will is held in honour great; there reigns an Amazon as dear to God as once was Hera; there golden liberty dwells in cities unencompassed by walls; there sword and dirk, javelin and spear are welded into ploughshares, and warriors erstwhile well versed in war now pass the time in peace and court the sweets of friendship; this country, inflicting no wrong on any other nation, yet bears arms, dulled indeed with the rust of peace but still a menace to her foes. How many heroes born for war, how many hearts of steel dost thou still nurse: Ten thousand chieftains and a thousand captains bear evidence, and of these thousands most renowned our glorious Gilbert, to whom the Muses bear honour, to whose famed story Pallas lends a willing ear.

"To pass all else, how great a thing it is for the peace and good of the human race to hazard all the chances and dangers of the seas. To leave a family yet young and the sweet embraces of his cherished wife. She, Ageria, counting one by one on her slender fingers the thousand dangers of a thousand seas. Whose father and brother too, comrades of high example, for their country's honour and renown, besieged within the gates of Calais, preferred to die rather than join those who betrayed the city with ignominy to preserve their lives.

"But if we may not yet admit that this golden age has come again in our world, what is there to prevent its existence in lands unknown? I foretell, and may Heaven favour my words, I foretell the years in which a foreign people will be united under our Gilbert's sway; when citizens, knowing naught of fraud or guile, may grow accustomed to find happiness in simple virtue, rather than, yielding to inclination of effeminacy, plunge their enervated frames into the depths of lazy self-indulgence and luxurious ease. There a man's value will not be measured by birth, nor the people's liberty crushed by riches. There, mother earth will give her

fruits abundantly with little toil; no care shall draw the young to premature decline; nor stern labour so rob them of all leisure that they may not enjoy the rewards of virtue.

"Oh! that it were mine to board your lucky ship, with thee to explore the far off sea and there to lay the foundation of a new and powerful nation. But me the fates forbid; although I fain would sing thy noble deeds, I am constrained unwillingly to return to Ister's sad stream. Yet may the fates reserve me for that office, and there will not be wanting a poet to sing in that New World of nature's many gifts unknown under our sky.

"While I write, the nymphs are gathering on the green sward, twining their hair with laurel and fresh olive leaves, thronging to honour our Elizabeth, Queen of the Sea. She, from her lofty tower near the cool river, looks forth, and even now on Father Thames she sees Gilbert's slanting sails gradually fade away in the distance. Grant thy favour, noble Queen, and aid the sails now ready at thy bidding, for thou alone dost wield a sceptre worthy to be carried forward over the world under such auspices. Thou alone hast so blessed thy people with unbroken peace, that now under thy guidance they can extend thy rule. If tradition may be trusted, of mothers such as you the demi-gods were born of old; of such a mother came the mighty Hector, or Achilles, mightier still. I lie, unhappy man, if virtue does not glitter in thy fair form as brightly as some jewel glitters in its setting of gold. I lie and say no more, if thou dost not openly enjoy secure repose, while other princes confined as if within some dungeon dure, their very banquets spoiled by fear of death, enjoy sleep only in furtive intervals of rest, troubled by fearful portents. I lie, and say no more, if thy people do not wish for thee eternal life, since thou dost establish thy dominion by no stern lash, nor dread of death or punishment; but by thy countless merits hast thou won

loyal service. Clemency unarmed sits guardian in thy wide open gates.

"Dost thou not see how America, who lately humbly offered loyalty, now with hair dishevelled and unkempt, stretches forth her huge right hand, and says: 'Hast thou any regard, sister Anglia, for our tears and dost thou mourn at all at our hard lot? Hast thou the heart to ignore our troubles and all the disasters which we have borne, since the insatiable desire for gold, for surely 'twas no love of virtue induced the Spaniards to invade our land. From that time, hoping to learn of God, we have been taught to erect altars to mortal men and to pray to dumb imperfect images. Why are we dragged down to earth? If our minds are clear, why cannot we seek God directly in the clear heaven? Why do we see men reduced by fire, starvation, or the sword in the name of religion? Not this way lies religion, not thus in my judgment does God delight to see His kingdom guarded!

"If happy amid unbroken peace thou art averse to undertake to win our regions with expenditure of blood, there is a land hard by separated by a channel of the sea. This land hath been already discovered for thee, what time great hearted Cabot displayed his sails in our seas; a land there is neither made too cold by the adjacent north nor yet by immoderate heat into arid sand. Stretch thy beneficial hand toward this land and lay there thy sceptre. May it be ours to hope for some measure of rest through thee and may for us the day of gladness dawn.'"

This unfortunate poet was so carried away by his poesy, that he decided to accompany the hero of his song, and lost his life in the unknown waters of the New World. There is a curious air of inspiration about all the writers of Elizabeth's day. Even this poor foreign scholar, coming to England, imbibes the prevalent enthusiasm and indulges in no mean vein of prophecy.

"Queen of the Seas" was surely a new title to bestow on England's Queen, but how prophetic! Then the picture of Anglia "rearing her head on high throughout the world, careful of her destiny, lest some day her wide spread dominions should fall by their own weight," might easily have been written for our day. And again, the contrast drawn between Elizabeth, openly at ease among her subjects, and other sovereigns dreading assassination and cowering prisoners in their own castles, could with equal truth be drawn to-day. "Clemency unarmed sits guardian in thy wide open gates" is happily still true in Britain and Greater Britain.

The poet's vision of the New World has not been completely realized, but in comparison with the Old has a semblance of truth. At least in the New World a man's value is not measured by birth, although in these days of multi-millionaires riches threaten the liberty of the people. Mother earth gives her fruits abundantly with comparatively little toil, and widespread efforts are made to shorten the hours of labour. But for the savage occupants of the New World, England's rule was to be almost as deadly as that of Spain. No "day of gladness" dawned for them, and nowhere was a more persistent exterminating war waged than in that island discovered by "great hearted Cabot" for England, her first colony in North America and, destiny would seem to say, her last. Canada may fall by her own weight, but Newfoundland is not likely to be tempted from her allegiance.

So far as we are aware this Latin poem has not been previously translated nor quoted by historians, yet we venture to think it furnishes a valuable picture of Elizabeth's auspicious times.

## CHAPTER XII

### HAIES'S NARRATIVE

THE tragedy of Humphrey Gilbert's life now rapidly culminates. The story of his last voyage has been told in an inimitable manner by Edward Haies, of "Cerepool," owner and master of the *Golden Hind*—and "a principall actour in the same voyage who alone continued unto the end, and by God's speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire."

It would be presumption to try to improve upon the quaint phraseology of Haies, therefore, in the following narrative, it has been preserved whenever possible. He had been one of the subscribers to Gilbert's voyage in 1578, but so far as can be ascertained did not accompany it in person. Now, however, he became, as he says, "a principall actour," and upon him it devolved to tell the unhappy tale. Perhaps his account appeared in pamphlet form immediately after his return, but it is known to us only through the medium of Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

One can imagine the interest and excitement of the worthy Hakluyt over Gilbert's projects. From boyhood to the last day of his life, voyages of adventure were his passion and delight. He tells with great empressement how, when a lad, he paid a visit to his cousin Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, and found him with a map of the world spread before him. "He, seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance. . . . From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible and turning to the 107 Psalme directed me to the 23 and 24 verses, where I read, that they which go down to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and

His wonders in the deepe, which words of the Prophet together with my cousin's discourse (things of high and rare delight to my young nature) took in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, I would by God's assistance prosecute that knowledge and kind of literature, the doores whereof (of a sort) were so happily opened before me." Faithfully he fulfilled the duties thus self-imposed; but he himself, beyond crossing the Channel, never went down to the sea in ships or saw His wonders in the deep. At this time he was thirty years of age, and his enthusiasm had reached such a height that, as has been already mentioned, he fully intended to have accompanied Gilbert, but his appointment as chaplain to Edward, Earl of Stafford, and departure to France, prevented him from indulging his adventurous longing. But he did what he could to help. To Sidney he had been a "worthy Trumpet," and the year before had dedicated to him the first edition of the *Voyages*. In this dedication he thus refers to Humphrey Gilbert's projected voyage. "The time approacheth," he says, "and now is, that we of England may share and part stakes (if we will ourselves) both with the Spaniard and Portingale, in part of America and other regions yet undiscovered." Hakluyt had imbibed to the full Gilbert's plan of colonization. Two arguments seemed to appeal to him most forcibly: the first, that it would relieve England from her surplus criminal population; and second, that by this means the savage inhabitants of America might become converted to Christianity. In the "Dedication" to Sidney before mentioned, he says: "Yea if we woulde beholde with the eye of pitie howe al our prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their countrie, which for small robberies are dayly hanged up in great numbers, even twentie at a clap out of one jayle (as was seen at the last assizes at Rochester), we would hasten and further every man to his power, the deducting of some colonies

of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile parts of America, which being within six weekes sayling of England are yet unpossessed of any Christians."

In the same "Dedication" he urges the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ by spreading the Gospel to the heathen, using the somewhat peculiar argument that, as it is promised, if we first seek the Kingdom of God, all other things will be added unto us: *ergo*, if we wish to get rich we must serve God. In another place, he describes the people of America crying out unto the people of England, their next neighbours, to come and help them, and bring to them the glad tidings of the Gospel. He was also greatly chagrined, when asked by some Roman Catholics how many converts had been made by the Protestants, not to be able to instance a single one.

Sydney confessed himself to be greatly influenced by Hakluyt, and materially assisted Gilbert. Upon the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol, Hakluyt had also exercised his persuasive powers in Gilbert's behalf, albeit ineffectually; and finally, not being able to go on the expedition himself, he had provided a substitute, the unfortunate Stephanus Parmenius, "who," says Haies, "of pietie and zeale to good attempts adventured in this action, minding to recorde in the Latin tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance happening in these discoveries, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this orator and rare Poet of our time." But much as we regret the stately hexameters of his promised Gilbertiad, we can more easily spare him than our "industrious Hakluyt," whom fate fortunately preserved from the voyage.

It was in the early part of June 1583, that Gilbert assembled his fleet at Causet Bay near Plymouth. Compared to that of 1578, it was very unpretentious; it certainly could not be said of it that "it was able to withstand a King's power at sea." The ships that now composed his fleet were: "1. The *Delight*, alias the

*George*, of burthen 120 tunnes was Admiral: in which went the *General*, and William Winter, Captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clarke, master.

"2. The *Barke Raleigh*, set forth by Mr. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen 200 tunnes, was then Viz Admirall, in which went Mr. Butler, Captaine and Robert Davis of Bristol Master.

"3. The *Golden Hind*, of burthen 40 tunnes, was the Reare Admiral; in which went Edward Haies Captaine and Owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.

"4. The *Swallow*, of burthen 40 tunnes, in her was Captaine Maurice Browne.

"5. The *Squirrell* of burthen 10 tunnes, in which went Captain William Andrews and one Cade master.

"We were in number in all about 260 men; among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smiths and such like, requisite to such an action; also mineral men and refiners. Besides for solace of our people and allurment of the savages we were provided of Musike in good variety; not omitting the least toys as Morris dancers, Hobly horses, and Maylike conceits to delight the savage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdashirie wares to barter with those simple people." But these kindly preparations were wasted, for in all their voyage they met with none of the inhabitants of the country.

So far as can be traced, no member of the first expedition now sailed under Gilbert's command—a somewhat significant circumstance,—and although there were a *Swallow* and *Squirrell* in each fleet, it is not certain that they were the same vessels. It seems probable that there were two vessels called the *Swallow*, but that the *Squirrell* was one and the same, and the sole relic of the former fleet. The *Bark Raleigh* is not to be confused with the *Ark Raleigh* or *Ark Royal*, which was of about 700 tuns burden, and was the flagship of Lord

Howard of Effingham at the defeat of the Armada. Haies had chosen an auspicious name for his vessel, calling it after Drake's famous ship, then lying in dock at Deptford, where she remained for nearly a century, the cynosure of all nautical eyes. It was deservedly a fashionable name for ships at that time.

After they had assembled, a great discussion took place as to the route to be followed—"whether from the south, northward, or from the north, southward." The former was the easier course, but the summer was well on, and if they made a southern landfall and then started to cruise northward, they were certain to be surprised by winter in inclement latitudes; but if they went north first, the weather would improve as they went south, and they would be able to secure comfortable quarters for the winter. In addition to this excellent reason, their departure had been so long delayed that their provisions were already beginning to fall short, and it was necessary to consider carefully how best they could be replenished. It was therefore decided that they should "take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but seven hundred leagues from our English Coast; where being usually and until the fine of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieved abundantly with many necessities, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare and freely impart to us."

"Not staying long upon that Newland Coast we might proceed southward, and follow still the sunne until we arrived at places more temperate to our content."

"Wherefore suppressing all objections to the contrary we resolved to begin our course Northward and to follow directly as we might the trade way to Newfoundland; from whence after refreshing and reparation of our wants we intended without delay to proceed into the south not omitting any river or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search." The "trade way to Newfoundland" is a rather remarkable

phrase, and is further evidence of a regular and well-known visitation of fishing vessels, at a time when it has been supposed that the English entirely neglected the country.

In the previous December, Gilbert had carefully selected the watchwords to be used upon the voyage, and had sealed them up "in two bullets or scrowles." That sealed with yellow wax was to be immediately opened, and was for use on the English and Irish coasts; the other, sealed with red wax, was to be opened when the Irish coast had been left, and was to serve for the rest of the voyage. This seems rather a childish precaution, but as much importance appears to have been attached to it as to the guarding of signal code-books in the Navy in our own day. Gilbert also devised a clumsy method of communicating the ordinary nautical commands, by means of flags during the day, and lights by night.

Leaving the Scilly Isles, the little fleet were directed to make the best of their way to that most famous landmark, Cape Race (the first name, by the by, to appear on any map of the American seaboard), then proceeding northward, they were to *rendezvous* at Rognieux or Fermous, and there to stay for the space of at least ten days. If the ships became separated and failed to meet at the places named, they were then to *rendezvous* at some point in Cape Breton. If a ship left harbour, she was instructed to leave carefully arranged marks "of the General's private device written by himself, also sealed in close wax, whereby every man was certified what to leave for instruction of after comers."

"Orders thus determined and promises mutually given to be observed, every man withdrew himself into his charge, the ankers being already weyed and our ships under sail, having a soft gale of winde, we began our voyage upon Tuesday the eleventh day of June 1583— In this manner we set forth the weather faire and goode all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell

the same night. Thursday following when we hailed one another in the evening (according to the order before specified) they signified unto us out of the Vizadmirall that both the Captaine and very many of the men were fallen sicke. And about midnight the Vizadmirall forsook us notwithstanding we had the winde east, faire and good. But it was afterwards credibly reported that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse and arrived greatly distressed at Plimmouth; the reason I never could understand, sure I am no cost was spared by their ouner Master Raleigh, in setting them forth; Therefore I leave it unto God."

Haies was evidently suspicious, but Sir Humphrey took a different view of the affair, and in a letter to Sir George Peckham told how he had been deserted in fine weather with a fair wind. "I pray you," he said, "solicit my brother Raleigh to make them an example to all knaves."

This letter will be given in full in its proper place.

The loss to Gilbert was enormous and irreparable, and probably caused the failure of the enterprise. He could neither wait nor turn back. It was already the fifth anniversary of the granting of his charter, when he sailed, and but one year remained to him in which to bring his life work to a successful issue. He was justly incensed. Raleigh had expended £2000 in the building and fitting up of this vessel, and when she returned to port was no doubt as disappointed as Gilbert; unless the captain showed good cause for his action, we can be sure that Raleigh made an example of him, as requested.

As a result of this desertion, the *Golden Hind* was promoted to be "Vizadmirall," and Captain Haies takes care to record that he therefore removed his flag from the mizen unto the foretop.

For thirteen days they had thick fogs and heavy winds, and were driven far south of their course, to lat. 41°. When they came about on the other tack, they

were driven almost as much too far to the north. This made the voyage a very long one, though Haies tells us it had often been performed in twenty-two days during March, April and May. The experience of centuries confirms these observations, for easterly winds prevail in the North Atlantic during the spring months, and westerly winds during June, July and August.

They lost company with the *Swallow* and *Squirrel*, in spite of Sir Humphrey's elaborate instructions for keeping together, and did not meet with them again until they reached the coast of Newfoundland. They took soundings as they passed over the Banks, and recorded that "the Portugals and French have a notable trade of fishing upon this banke, where are sometimes a hundred or more saile of ships, who commonly begin the fishing in April and end in July. That fish is large and always wet having no lande there to drie and is called Corre fish." Land was at last made in about lat.  $51^{\circ}$ , on July 30, seven weeks after their departure. As nearly as they could judge, they found themselves at the mouth of Grand Bay, that is, in the Straits of Bell Isle. The land they saw was probably Labrador, of which they gave as unflattering a description as did Cartier in 1534. "Forsaking this bay and uncomfortable coast (nothing appearing unto us but hideous rocks and mountains, bare of trees and voide of any green herbe) we followed the coast to the south with weather faire and cleare. We had sight of an island named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their bodie being very large (not much lesse than a goose) and exceeding fat; which the Frenchmen used to take without difficulty upon the Island and to barrell them up with salte. But for lingering of time we had made the like provision."

The islands here described are now known as "The Funks." Cartier had visited them in 1534, and obtained two boatloads of penguins in about half-an-hour. Whit-

bourne (1622) describes an ingenious method of taking them. A plank was laid from the rocks to the boat, and the foolish birds driven along it, thus making them walk the plank literally and metaphorically. This sea-fowl was the Great Auk, and continued to be found until about 1830, when the persistent slaughter of centuries had the usual effect, and the species became extinct. An egg of the Great Auk is one of the rarest natural history specimens, and is worth hundreds of pounds. Early voyagers declared that Penguin was a name used by the American aborigines, and, as it was undoubtedly of Welsh origin, argued from it the verification of the voyages of Madoc of Wales. To continue Haies's narrative. "Trending this coast we came to the island called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the maine; to the south thereof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5 leagues distant from Baccalaos between which goeth in a great Bay, of the vulgar sort, called the Bay of Conception." The name Baccalaos has been the subject of much controversy. It was said to have been the name given by Cabot to the country he discovered, because of the great quantity of codfish found there, which, he declared, the natives called "baccalaos." The word is, however, of European origin, in common use in several countries, and means a stick or stock-fish, i. e. a dry salted codfish. Cabot undoubtedly bestowed the name, and it appears upon many early maps; that it should have been retained by this little island is interesting, and perhaps not without significance.

In Conception Bay they met with the *Swallow* again, and found, to their surprise, that her crew had "suffered a sea-change." "All her men were altered into other apparell; whereof it seemed their store was so amended that for joy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast up into the air and overboard, their caps and hats in good plenty. The Captaine, albeit himself was very honest and religious yet was he not appointed of men to his humour and desert; who for

the most part were such as had bene by us surpris'd upon the narrow seas of England, being pirote and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden one barke with wines and another with salt. Both which we rescued and tooke the manne of warre and all her men, which was the same ship now called the *Swallow*, following still their kind so oft as (being separated from the Generall) they found opportunity to robbe and spoile. And because God's justice did follow the same company even to destruction and to the overthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdemeanour) I will not conceale anything to the manifestation and approbation of his judgements—Therefore with further enquiry it was known, how this company met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his freight; and because the men in the *Swallow* were very nere scant'd of victual, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withal where and when to find and meete with their Admirall, they besought the Captaine they might go aboard this Newlander, onely to borrow what might be spared, and rather because the same was bound homeward. Leave given, not without charge to deale favourably, they came aboard the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, and the men of their apparell; not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out what else they thought good. This done with expedition (like men skilfull in such mischief) as they tooke their cocke boate to go aboard their own ship, it was overwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men were drowned: the rest were preserved only by those silly soules whom they had before spoyled, who saved and delivered them aboard the *Swallow*. What became afterwards of the poor Newlander, perhaps destitute of sails and furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not leasse to run than 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who took vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant."

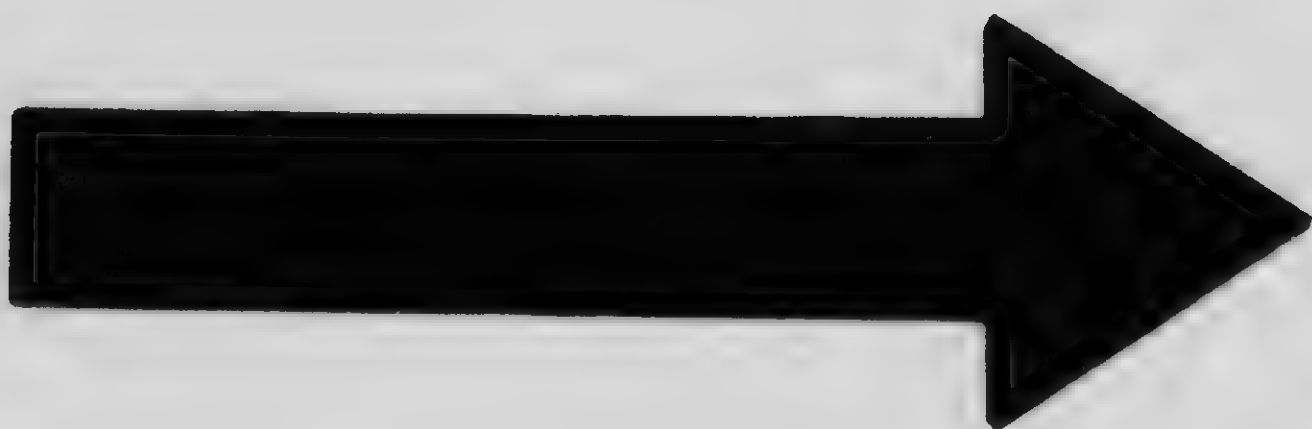
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SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S FLEET ENTERING THE HARBOUR OF ST. JOHNS. AUGUST, 1583.

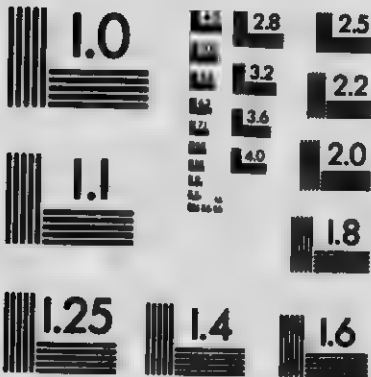
This is a curious story. Far from being piratically inclined, Sir Humphrey, at some time prior to the mustering in Causet Bay, had played the part of knight-errant and had rescued two French vessels from an English pirate. So far so good, but then he appears to have commandeered the pirate! We are left to imagine by what persuasive arts. The men of the *Swallow* also do not appear to have attempted any concealment of the piracy they had committed, nor to have dreaded any punishment at Sir Humphrey's hands. "There weren't no ten commandments" on the American main in those days.

Haies continues: "Thus after we had met with the *Swallow*, we held on our course southward, untill we came upon the harbor called S. John, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance of the harbor we found also the Frigate or *Squirrel* lying at anker. Whom the English merchants (that were and alwaies be Admirals by turnes interchangeably over the fletes of fishermen within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy a meeting both of the *Swallow* and *Frigate* in one day (being Saturday the 3rd. of August) we made readie our fights and prepared to enter the harbor, and resistance to the contrary notwithstanding, there being within of all nations to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall despatched a boat to give them knowledge of his coming for no ill intent, having commission from Her Majesty for his voiage he had in hand. And immediately we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance which is but narrow, not above 2 butts lengths, the Admirall fell upon a rocke upon the larboard side by great oversight in that the weather was faire, the rocke much above water fast by the shore where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readiness in the English merchants to help us in that danger, that without delay were brought a number of boats, which towed off the ship and cleared her of danger."



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The entrance to the Harbour of St. John's, called "The Narrows," is one of the most magnificent pieces of scenery to be found on the American seaboard. It is about half-a-mile long and from 200 to 300 yards wide. The hills on either side are almost perpendicular, and rise to the height of 700 feet. At the inner end of "The Narrows," as it opens out into the harbour, on the star-board or northern side stands the historic Chain Rock, so called on account of the chain or boom which used to be stretched from it across the mouth of the harbour in time of war, to prevent the entrance of hostile ships. On the south side, about fifty yards from the shore, there is another rock characteristically called "The Pancake." At low water, and in rough weather, the sea breaks over it, and it was upon this rock, no doubt, that the *Delight* ran ashore. "The Narrows" has been the scene of many notable occurrences, but probably never has a more picturesque or momentous incident been witnessed there than the entrance of Sir Humphrey's little fleet. In spite of the untoward accident, it must have been with great exultation that Sir Humphrey, after a lifetime of planning, at length cast anchor in the new world. With what speculation must he have viewed the rugged hills surrounding the harbour! But the expected gold-mine was not in those hills: it was on the fishing ledges outside!

The conduct of the English merchants then in St. John's was not creditable. They would not let the little *Squirrel* enter, but when Sir Humphrey made his way in with his "show of fight," there was a sudden change of sentiment, and when his vessel ran ashore they hastened to help him off. That the English "were and always be Admirals by turns interchangeably over the fleets of fishermen within the harbor" is a noteworthy piece of information. Later on, Haies says, "For our English merchants command all there," and we learn from the letter of Stephanus Parmenius to Hakluyt, which is given later, that out of 36 vessels in the har-

bour, 20 were Spanish and Portuguese. Of the remainder some were French, so that the English must have been in a considerable minority. Five years previously, Anthony Parkhurst, in a letter to Hakluyt, had given similar information. He estimated that there were fishing in Newfoundland waters 150 sail of French, 100 Spanish, 50 Portuguese, and but 50 English ships; as an excuse for this backward state of things he instanced the great trade the English had in Iceland. But, he said, the Spanish "be better appointed for shipping and furniture of munition, than any nation saving the Englishmen, who commonly are lords of the harbors where they fish and do use all strangers helpe in fishing if need require according to an old custome of the country, which thing they do willingly, so that you take nothing more from them than a boate or twaine of salt, in respect to your protection of them against rovers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbors, etc." Hakluyt, in a sidenote to Haies's statement quoted above, says, "English ships are the strongest and Admirals of other fleets, fishing upon the south parts of Newfoundland." But seeing that they were in such small numbers comparatively, the "old custom of the country," referred to by Parkhurst, must have been of more than usual efficacy. It is probable that the English were recognized in some measure as lords of the soil on account of the discoveries of Cabot, which, when backed by larger and better armed ships, easily gave them the precedence.

To continue Haies's narrative:—

"Having taken place convenient in the road we let fall ankers, the Captaines and masters repairing aboard our Admirall: whither also came immediately the Masters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen, to understand the General's intent and cause of our arrival there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of

England, and the advancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repaying of his fleete, and supply of some necessities, so farre as might conveniently be afforded him, both out of that and other harbors adjoyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them, with any favor or priveledge, which upon their better advise they should demand, the like being not to be obtained hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those partes, he dismissed them, after promise given of their best indeavour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

"It was further determined that every ship of our fleets should deliver unto the Marchants and masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships, as well English as strangers, were taxed at an easy rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adioyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leavie our provision: whereunto the Portugals (above other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (above our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily unto us. Moreover as the maner is in their fishing, every weeke to chose there Admirall a new, or rather they succede in orderly course, and have weekly their Admirals feast solemnized: even so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually invited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightful, but after our wants and tedious passage through

the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was unexpected in that desolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds have only the fruition of all these countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented."

Thus was fulfilled Sir Humphrey's first purpose in going to Newfoundland. By this easy and inexpensive method he had revictualled his ships. Haies' description of the proceedings conveys the idea that the fishing fleet were delighted to give of their substance, but behind it one can see the influence of the mailed fist; if Gilbert had not been sufficiently powerful to enforce his demands his men would have gone hungry. (See letter of Parmentius to Hakluyt, following.)

Hakluyt, in a side-note to Haies's statement that the harbour was abandoned to the wild beasts and birds for the greater part of the year, says, "No savages are in the south part of Newfoundland." This was probably true at that time, but the arrow- and spear-heads found on the banks of the river, about two miles to the west of St. John's are proof that the Beothuks, aboriginal inhabitants of Newfoundland, did at one time inhabit this part of the island.

"The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his Company were brought on land by English marchants, who showed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appered more than Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly had brought forth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in every place."

The harbour of St. John's in its pristine condition must have charmingly beautiful. Entering between the lofty of "The Narrows," the harbour turns sharply to the left; on the south, the hills at "The Narrows" continue their rugged and precipitous character; on the

north the rise from the water's edge is less steep, and the hill not over 400 feet high. The harbour is about half-a-mile wide and one and a half miles long; at the western end a substantial brook flows at the base of the hills, opening into a beautiful valley many miles in extent. The picturesque city of St. John's now covers the northern slope; fishermen's huts and stages cluster about the mouth of the harbour; the south-side hills are rugged and bare of trees, but a mantle of shrubs and bushes makes them glow with colour as they catch the last rays of the setting sun. The harbour is still beautiful, but it must have been incomparably more so when it opened to the view of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The hills on either side were then covered with the forest primeval, the dusky green of the spruce and fir enlivened by the lighter foliage of the birch, witch-hazel and aspen; lofty pines reared their heads far above the other trees, and the open spaces were covered with bushes of luscious whortle-berries (locally "hurts"), raspberries, and wild roses. The forest has gone, converted to the use of man or swept away by fire, but Nature's gardens, as described by Haies, are yet to be found on the outskirts of the city. The brilliance and freshness of the summer months in Newfoundland are unequalled in any part of the world, the atmosphere seems to have more than the usual allowance of ozone. Little wonder that Sir Humphrey became "a northern man," and decided at once to take formal possession of this beautiful harbour, so snug, so accessible, and so convenient,—for to this day the cod fishery off the harbour of St. John's ranks as one of the best in the island. Accordingly—

"Munday following, the Generall had his tent set up, who being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read and interpreted unto the strangers his Commission: by vertue

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SIR HUMPHREY. GILBERT TAKING POSSESSION OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

whereof he took possession in the same harbor of St. Iohn, and 200 leagues every way, invested the Queenes Maiestie with the title and dignitie thereof, and delivered unto him (after the custome of England) a rod and a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for ever: And signified unto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorrie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorised under her Maistie to possesse and enioy it, And to ordaine lawes for the government thereof, agreeable (so neere as conveniently might be) unto the lawes of England: under which all people coming thither thereafter, either to inhabit or by way of traffique, should be subiected and governed. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed and delivered three lawes to be in force immediately. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Maisties right and possession of those territories, against which if anything were attempted preiudiciall the partie or parties offending should be aduiged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her Maiestie, he should loose his eares, and have his ship and goods confiscate.

"These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude as well of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and government begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingraven in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of Her Maiestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humphrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assigns for ever: the Generall granted in fee farme divers parcels of land lying on the water side, both in this harbour of S. Iohn,

and elsewhere, which was to the owners great commodity, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds convenient to dresse and drie their fish, whereof many times before they did fail, being prevented by them that came first into the harbour. For which grounds they did covenant to pay a certaine rent and service unto Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for ever, and yeerely to maintain possession of the same, by themselves or their assignes."

Thus, eighty-six years after the discovery by John Cabot and the men of Bristol, was the annexation of Newfoundland to the Crown of England confirmed by quaint and formal ceremony. But nearly a generation was yet to elapse before it was actually occupied by settlers. In spite of the obligations Gilbert was under to his Roman Catholic friends, the first law he ordained was that the public exercise of religion should be according to the Church of England. He perhaps thought it sufficient that the private exercise of religion should be free and untrammelled.

His third law is significant. Had some whispering tongues already breathed scandals about Queen Elizabeth? Her sudden infatuation for Raleigh must have been well known, and its bearing upon the voyage could not but have been commented on. Rumours had doubtless come to Gilbert's ears, which his loyalty, his long service, and his brotherly affection all called upon him to terminate instantly. Like Sheridan's "Critic," he would have no scandal about Queen Elizabeth.

One of the English merchants in St. John's harbour at this time was Richard Whitbourne,—this being the fourth year in succession that he had fished at Newfoundland. His first voyage was made in a ship belonging to a Southampton merchant, Master Cotton, who was one of the largest subscribers in Gilbert's Southampton Company, and was then in command of a "worthy ship of 220 tons" belonging to one Master Croke, also of Southampton. In 1622, he pub-

lished a pamphlet to induce colonists to go to Newfoundland, and tells that about thirty-six years before, "Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a Devonshire Knight, came thither with two good ships and a rynnace, and brought with him a large Patent, from the late most renowned Queen Elizabeth, and in her name took possession of the country, in the harbor of St. John's, whereof I was an eye-witness."

Whitbourne continued to visit Newfoundland and became an enthusiastic supporter of colonization projects. He saw the first permanent settlement made in 1610, and in 1615, was sent out with a commission from the Court of Admiralty to impanel juries and settle disputes; this being the first exercise of English judicature in the Colony. The early history of the city of St. John's is unknown. It is not until 1626 that there is any record of houses being built or of people residing there, and it is therefore presumed that the recipients of Sir Humphrey's grants of land were not able to maintain the titles he had given them.

Haies continues—

"Now remained only to take in provision granted, according as every ship was taxed, which did fish upon the coast adioyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men unto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and provision: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation unto the Generall what eyther themselves could knowe by their owne travaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequent the same coast. Also some observed the elevation of the pole, and drewe plats of the countrey exactly graded. And by what I could gather by each mans severall relation, I have drawn a brief description of the Newfoundland, with the commodities by sea or lande already made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great

likelihood to be made: Nevertheless the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall: whereof in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

#### A BRIEFE RELATION OF THE NEW FOUNDE LANDE, AND THE COMMODITIES THEREOF

"That which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, upon the gulfes and entrance of the great river called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, navigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length between three and 400 miles, accounting from Cape Race (which is 46 degree 25 minutes) unto the Grand Bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the known world. The common opinion that is had of intemperature and extreme cold that should be in this country, as of some part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are under the same elevation: even so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the South parts should be so intemperate as the brute hath gone.<sup>1</sup> For as the same doe lie under the climats of Briton, Anjou, Poictou in France, between 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries:

<sup>1</sup> This prejudicial "brute" still persists. The winters in Newfoundland are by no means so cold as the neighbouring provinces, and, one year with another, there are not twenty-four hours of zero weather in St. John's. The summers are delightfully bright and hot. In the interior and on the west coast, spring arrives much earlier than on the east coast, and agriculture is pursued with marked success. Newfoundland will yet be noted for its farm produce, cattle and sheep.

unlesse upon the outcoast lying open unto the Ocean and sharp windes, it must in deede be subject to more colde, then further within the lande, where the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to resist the asperitie and rigor of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion that Newfound Land, might be the more subject to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere unto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy and Afrike, even under the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and seldom uncovered of snow, in their culme and highest tops, which commeth to passe by the same reason that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneath them, it is found quite contrary. Even so all hils having their discents the vallies also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the climat doeth give in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in the Newfoundland, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the Sunne in his diurnall course from East to West, passeth over (for the most part) dry land and sandy countries, before he arriveth at the West of Europe or Afrike whereby his motion increaseth heate, with little or no qualification by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrarie he passeth from Europe and Afrike unto America over the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyst vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reverberation upon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being so much to the Northward. Neverthelesse (as I sayd before) the cold cannot be so intollerable under the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (especiall within land) that it should be uninhabitable, as some doe suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in these South parts there are certain beastes, Ounces or Leopards, and birds in like manner which in the Sommer we have seene,

not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides as in the monethes of June, July, August and September, the heate is somewhat more then in England at those seasons: so men remaining upon the South parts neere unto Cape Rece, until after Holland-tide, have not found the cold so extreme, not much differing from the temperature of England. Those which have arrived there after November and December, have found the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no marvaile, considering the ground upon the coast, is rough and uneven, and the snow is driven into the places most declyning as the like is to be seene with us. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land upon the playner countries, which also are defended by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those South parts, above that with us here: it cannot be so great as in Swedland, much lesse in Moscovia or Russia: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigor of cold is dispensed with by the commoditie of Stoves, warme clothing, meats and drinckes: all which neede not be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to habitate.

"In the South parts we find no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are savages altogether harmlesse. Touching the commodities of this countrie, serving either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintainence of traffique, there are and may be made divers: so Yt it seemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommoditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts, Salmones and other fish to us unknown: Also Cod which alone draweth many nations thither, and is to become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia and the Grand bay, where is made

Traine oiles of the Whale : Herring the largest that have bene heard of, and exceeding the Malstrond herring of Norway : but hitherto was never benefit taken of the herring fishery. There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut, with others infinite sought after not : Oysters haveing pearle but not orient in colour : I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

"Concerning the inland commodities, aswel to be drawn from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adjoyning : there is nothing which our East and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie : Namely rosen, pitch, tarre, sopeashes, dealboard, mastes for ships, hides, furies, flaxe, hempe, corne, cables, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countrie . . . aford and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

"The trees for the most in those South parts, are Firretrees, Pine and Cypresse, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

"Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also peare trees but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts to us unknowne.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing forth abundantly peason and small, yet good feeding for cattel. Roses passing sweet, like unto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berry which we call Hurts, good and wholesome to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheep in very short space, proved by English marchants who have carried sheepe thither for fresh victuall and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then three weekes. Peason which our countreyemen have sown in the time of May, have come up faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present, acceptable for the rareness, being the first fruits coming up by art and industrie in that desolate and dishabited land.

"Lakes and pooles of fresh water, both on the tops of

mountaines and in the vallies. In which are said to be muskles not unlike to have pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling unto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

"Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diversitie. All kind of green foule: Others as bigge as Bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called of some a Gaunt.

"Upon the land divers sorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridge most plentifull larger than ours, gray and white of colour, and rough-footed like doves, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and unable to flie. Birds some like Blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beast, as it seemeth by a tract and foote very large in manner of an oxe. Bears, ounces or leopards, some greater and some lesser, wolves, foxes, which to the Northward a little further are black, whose furre is esteemed in some Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, bevers, marternes: And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought unto him a Sable alive, which he sent unto his brother sir John Gilbert knight of Devonshire: but it was never delivered, as after I understood. We could not observe the hundreth part of creatures in those uninhabited lands: but these mentioned may induce us to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures serving for the use of man, though man hath not used a fift part of the same, which the more doth aggravate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to live indirectly, and very miserably to live and die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to adventure as becometh men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister unto mens endeavours, and for art to worke upon.

"For besides these already recounted and infinite more, the mountaines generally make shew of minerall substance: Iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not averre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumstances following, more then hope may be conceived thereof."

In addition to this description of the country by Haies, we have another written by the official chronicler of the voyage—Stephanus Parmenius. A few days after their arrival in St. John's, taking advantage doubtless of some returning well-fished vessel, he indited a long letter in Latin "To the worshipful Master Richard Hackluit of the College of Christchurch in Oxford, Master of Arts and Philosophie, his friend and brother."

Hackluyt thoughtfully gives us "the same in English" as follows—

"To the worshipfull, Master Richard Hakluit at Oxford in Christchurch, Master of Arts, and Philosophie, his friend and brother.

"I had not purposed to write unto you, when the promise of your letters came to my mind: You thought in June last to have followed us your selfe, and therefore I had left order that you should be advertised of my state, by Master Doctor Humfrey: but so you would not be satisfied: I will write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I have no leasure at this time to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

"The 11 of June we set saile at length from England in good earnest, and departed, leaving the haven and land behind us at Plimmouth: our Fleete consisted of five shippes: the greatest which the Admirals brother had lent us, withdrew her selfe from us the third day, we know not upon what occasion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23. July: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the great mists, some of us sailed one way, and some another: to us alone the first land appeared, the first of August, about

the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41. degrees in hope of some Southerly windes, which notwithstanding never blew to us at any fit time.

"It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birdes of the same name. Yet wee neither sawe any birds, nor drew neere to the land, the windes serving for our course directed to another place, but we mette altogether at that place a little before the Haven, whereunto by common Councell we had determined to come, and that within the space of two houres by the great goodnesse of God, and to our great joy. The place is situate in Newfound land, betweene 47. and 48. degrees, called by the name of St. Johns: the Admirall himselve by reason of the multitude of the men, and the smallnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly, and had already lost two of the same company, which died of the Flixie: of the rest we conceive good hope. Of our company (for I joyned myselve with Maurice Browne, a very proper gentleman) two persons by a mischance were drowned; the rest are in safetie, and strong, and for mine owne part I was never more healthy. We arrived at this place the third of August: and the fift the Admirall took possession of the Countrey, for himselve and the kingdome of England: having made and published certain lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queen of England: at this time our fare is somewhat better, and daintier, than before: for in good sooth, the experience of so long time hath taught us what contrary windes wee have found, and what great travell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore wee will take such order that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spanish shippes besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match us, suffer us not to bee hunger starved: the English although they were of themselves strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie, by the

Queenes letters patents, they shewed us all manner of duety and humanitie.

"The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wilderness? Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them, that travell to these parts: the hooke is no sooner throwne out, but it is eftsoones drawne up with some goodly fish: the whole land is full of hilles and woods. The trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stop the way of those that seeke to travell, that they can go no wither: all the grasse here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the use of man: here are in the woodes hush berries, or rather straw berries growing up like trees, of great sweetnesse. Beares also appear about the fishers stages of the Countrey, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to bee white, as I conjectured by their skinnnes, and somewhat lesse than ours. Whether they bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither have I seene any to witnesse it. And to say trueth, who can, when as it is not possible to passe any whither? In like sort it is unknownen, whither any metals lye under the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to have some mynes in them: we moved the Admirall to set the woods afire, that wee might have pace, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconvenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish never came to the place about it, for the space of

7. whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine and Rosen of the trees, which ranne into the rivers upon the firing of them. The weather is so hot this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dryed by the sunne, be every day turned, it cannot possible bee preserved from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the midst of the Sea have taught us: some of our company report, that in May they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides whereof which were toward the sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heap was so inverted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before downward rose upward, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason wee may gather. The ayre upon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the Sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish) there is no day without raine. When we have served, and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope every day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys which we go to discover. Thus much touching our estate.

"Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone Master Henry Umpton doth take my absence: my obedience and dutie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I live: but in deede I hope that this journey of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you think me to be still yours and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu my most friendly.

most sweete, most vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound  
land, at Saint Johns Port, the 6. of August 1583.

"STEVEN PARMENIUS of

"Buda, yours."

The imagination of all had been inflamed by the stories of Davy Ing. am, and the learned Parmenius, as well as Sir Humphrey and Haies, expected to find the country shining with the precious metals. Haies was doomed to bitter disappointment on this account; he tells—

"For amongst other charges given to inquire out the singularities of this country, the Generall was most curious in the search of metalls, commanding the mineral man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxone borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron than other metall. The next time he found Ore, which with no small show of contentment he delivered unto the Generall, using protestation, that if silver were the thing which might satisfie the Generall and his followers, there it was, advising him to seeke no further: the perill whereof he undertooke upon his life (as deare unto him as the Crowne of England unto Her Majestie, that I may use his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

"My selfe at this instant liker to die than to live, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to have some part of the Ore, he replied: Contente yourselfe, I have seene ynough, and were it but to satisfie my private humour, I would proceed no further. The promise unto my friends, and necessitie to bring also the South countries within compasse of my Patent neere expired, as we have alreadie done these North partes, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore I have sent it aboard, whereof I would have no speech to be made so long as we remaine in harbor: here being both

Portugals, Biscains, and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea prooffe shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answer I iudged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith will I conclude this narration and description of the Newfound land, and proceed to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically."

Haies returns again to this subject, as will appear later.

Sir Humphrey lay in St. John's harbour for seventeen days, and it is very improbable that Daniel could have explored the country at any distance from St. John's. It is possible that he reached Conception Bay and noted the immense mass of iron which capped Bell Island. Apparently it had already been discovered, for Parkhurst in his letter to Hakluyt in 1578, describing Newfoundland, tells of "ye island of yron." It remained unnoticed for centuries, and has only been developed within the past twenty years. Daniel probably obtained his sample of silver ore or galena in St. John's harbor itself. About fifty years ago great excitement was caused by the rumour of the discovery of silver near the mouth of the harbor. The prospectors were as sure that they had discovered an Eldorado as Sir Humphrey Gilbert had been. But the first blast that was fired blew away every trace of the ore.

Contrary to his expectations, Sir Humphrey was well pleased at the prospects in Newfoundland. A few days after his arrival in St. John's, he wrote the following letter to his faithful friend and supporter, Sir George Peckham—

"Sir George, I departed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June with five sails, and on the thirteenth the Barke Rawley ran from me in faire weather, having a large winde. I pray you solicit my brother Rawley to make them an example to all knaves. On the third

of August we arrived at a port called St. John's, and will put to the sea from thence (God willing) so soon as our ships will be ready. Of the New Found Land I will say nothing until my next letters. Be of good cheare, for if there were no better expectation, it were a very rich demaynes, the Countrey being very good and full of all sorts of victuall, as fish both of the fesh water and Sea-fish. Deere, Pheasants, Partridges, Swannes, and divers Fowles else. I am in haste, you shall by every messenger heare more at large. On the fifth of August, I entred here in the right of the Crowne of England; and have engraven the Armes of England, divers Spaniards, Portugals and other strangers witnessing the same. I can stay no longer; fare you well with my good Lady: and be of good cheare, for I have comforted myselfe, answerable to all my hopes. From St. John's, in the New Found Land, the 8 of August 1583.

"Yours wholly to command, no man more,

"Hum. Gilbert."

This is our last news from Sir Humphrey personally. He wrote, evidently in haste, to apprise Sir George Peckham of his arrival and his satisfaction with what he had seen. We feel sure that he must have written other letters also at that time, but unhappily nothing more has come down to us. The above letter to Sir George Peckham was printed in *Purchas His Pilgrims*, probably from the mass of material left by Hakluyt to which Purchas fell heir.

## CHAPTER XIII

### HAIES'S NARRATIVE (*continued*)

SIR HUMPHREY was now to pay the penalty for having recruited his men so largely from the ranks of the pirates and buccaneers that swarmed the English coast.

"While the better sort of us," says Haies, "were seriously occupied in repairing our wants and continuing the matters for the commoditie of the voyage; others of another sort and disposition were plotting of mischief. Some casting to steal away our shipping by night, watching opportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on shore: whose conspiracies discovered, they were prevented."

It has been argued from the fact of Sir Humphrey and his officers sleeping on shore, that houses of some pretensions had been erected in St. John's. Haies does not, however, mention houses of any description; and as the erection of "some houses" in St. John's is recorded as a matter of note in 1627, we are of opinion that Sir Humphrey and his officers slept in the tent which we are told he had set up.

Defeated in their designs on their own shipping, the mutineers nevertheless accomplished their piratical intentions. Going to an adjoining harbour, probably the next to the southward, Bay Bulls, they seized a vessel laden with fish, and setting the fishermen on shore, sailed off to parts unknown. A great many more stole away into the woods, awaiting an opportunity to get home on some returning fishing vessel, which "daily departed from the coast: Some were sicke of fluxes and many dead: and, in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall

licensed to return home. Insomuch as after we had reviewed our people resolved to see an end to the voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping; it seemed good, therefore, to the Generall to leave the *Swallowe* with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people. The Captaine of the *Delight* or *Admirall* returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Bwn, before captaine of the *Swallow*, who also brought with him into the *Delight* all his men of the *Swallow*, which before have bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed upon fishermen they met at sea."

We hear nothing more of the *Swallow*, but conclude that she got back safely, for otherwise Haies would have certainly noted it; nor are we informed whether those that absconded with the fishing vessel met their just reward. Justice was not long of arm in those days, and escape could have been easily effected by making a port in France, and selling both ship and cargo.

Sir Humphrey chose to continue on the voyage in the little *Squirrel*; "being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search into every harbour or creeke, which a great ship could not doe." To defend her against possible enemies she was therefore prepared "with nettings and fights and overcharged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to give a shew, than with judgment to foresee unto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion of her overthrow."

St. John's had been well chosen as a place to replenish their stores, for they now went on their way rejoicing, well supplied, not only with necessities, but with luxuries: "Wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles, besides many other such as marmalades, figs, lymmons barralled, and such like. In briefe we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had beene in a countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things."

On August 20, the *Delight*, *Golden Hind* and

*Squirrel* again set sail from St. John's, which port from their observations they made out to be in  $47^{\circ}, 40'$ . In reality it is in  $47^{\circ}, 34'$ , so that they were six milcs too far north in their reckoning. The next day they passed Cape Race, which they said was in  $46^{\circ}, 25'$ , which was again an error, this time on the other side, as it is in  $46^{\circ}, 39'$ .

"Under this Cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drewe in less than two houres, fish so large and in such abundance that many dayes after we fed upon no other provision."

They now shaped their course for that island of fogs and shifting sands, "Sable Island," not thus named for its dusky hue or blacker reputation, but because it is an island of sand—"sablon." They had met in St. John's a Portuguese who told them, that some thirty years before he had been in a ship which landed both cattle and swine there to breed. "This seemed unto us very happie tidings to have an island lying so neare unto the maine, which we intended to plant upon, such store of cattell whereby we might at all times conveniently be relieved of victuall, and served of store for breed." Other accounts state that cattle were left on Sable Island in 1518 by Baron de Heri, and yet others, that they escaped from the wreck of some Spanish ships.

"In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape Race stretcheth into the Northwest, making a bay with some called Trepassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North: to the west of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We sent men on land to take view of the soyle along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance everywhere.

"The difference betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton

is eighty-seven leagues. In which navigation we spent eight dayes, having many times the wind indifferent good; yet could we never attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindered by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of us escaped: where neverthelesse we lost our Admirall with al the men and provision, not knowingly certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make conjecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in Sea cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter), I have set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the *Hind*, and Iohn Paul his mate, both of Limehouse.

"Reckonings kept in our course from Cape Race towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon, to the time and place where we lost our Admirall.

|            |                             |             |                            |
|------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| August 22. | West . . . . .              | 14 leagues. |                            |
|            | West and by south . . . . . | 25          |                            |
|            | Westnorthwest . . . . .     | 25          |                            |
|            | Westnorthwest . . . . .     | 9           |                            |
|            | Southsouthwest . . . . .    | 10          |                            |
|            | Southwest . . . . .         | 12          |                            |
|            | Southsouthwest . . . . .    | 10          |                            |
|            | Westnorthwest . . . . .     | 12          |                            |
|            | Summe of these leagues      | 117         | Here we lost our Admirall. |

The reckoning of Iohn Paul Masters mate from Cape Race.

|            |                                  |             |                            |
|------------|----------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| August 22. | West . . . . .                   | 14 leagues. |                            |
| 23.        | North and by west . . . . .      | 9           |                            |
| 24.        | Southwest and by south . . . . . | 5           |                            |
| 25.        | West and by south . . . . .      | 40          |                            |
| 26.        | West and by north . . . . .      | 7           |                            |
| 27.        | Southwest . . . . .              | 3           |                            |
| 28.        | Southwest . . . . .              | 9           |                            |
|            | Southwest . . . . .              | 7           |                            |
|            | Westsouthwest . . . . .          | 7           |                            |
| 29.        | Northwest and by west . . . . .  | 20          |                            |
|            | Summe of all these leagues       | 121         | Here we lost our Admirall. |

"Our course we held in clearing us of these flats was

Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and south fourteen leagues with a marveilous scant winde." <sup>1</sup>

#### THE MANER HOW OUR ADMIRALL WAS LOST.

"Upon Thursday the 27 of August toward the evening our General caused them in the frigate to sound, who found white sand at 35 fathoms being then in latitude 44 degrees." They were then evidently very close to Sable Island; but the wind coming South they stood to the Northwest, strongly against the advice of Master Coxo of the *Golden Hind*. Nevertheless they followed the *Admiral*, unable to prevent the mischief which they saw threatening. "The evening was fair and pleasant, yet not without token of storm to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the *Admirall* or *Delight* continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes; also winding the Cornets, Haughtboyes; and in the end of their jollitie left with battell and ringing of doleful knels." Porpoises in herds circled round them, portending storm, and in the frigate, strange voices were heard, which scared the helmsman from his post. But Haies considered these reports "frivolous."

On the 29th, they had a strong south-east gale, with thick fog, so that they could not see a cable length before them. In the early morning they found themselves entangled amongst flats and sands, with the depth of water varying considerably in a very short distance. They immediately signalled to the *Delight* to come about and stand to seaward. But it was too late; no watch

<sup>1</sup> The courses steered by Sir Humphrey Gilbert's fleet as laid down by William Coxo, master, and John Paul, master's mate of the *Golden Hind*, have been carefully worked out for me by Capt. William English, Harbour Master of St. John's. They prove that John Paul was the better navigator, for his reckoning leads exactly to the northern end of Sable Island, where we may conclude that the *Delight* was lost; while Coxo's reckoning indicates a point fifty or sixty miles to the Eastward. The description of the wreck, the flats and shoals, and the great variation in the soundings in short distances, confirm this decision.

had been kept, and they had no idea of their danger, and being a much larger vessel and some distance ahead of the *Golden Hind*, they almost immediately struck and soon went to pieces. The *Golden Hind* and *Squirrell* with difficulty managed to save themselves. "In this distresse wee had vigilant eyes unto the *Admirall* whom wee saw cast away, without power to give the men succour, neither could wee espie any of the men that leaped overboard to save themselves, either in the same Pinnasse or Cocke, or upon rafters, and such like maners, presenting themselves to men in those extremities: for wee desired to save the men by every possible meanes. But all in vane, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and down as neere unto the wreck as was possible for us, looking out if by good hap we might espie any of them.

"This was a heavie and grievous event to lose at one blow our chief ship freighted with great provision, gathered together with much travell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the loss of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundred soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called hereof Budaus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latin tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in the discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time."

But here also perished one more mourned than Parmenius, even Daniel, the honest Saxon refiner, the discoverer of inestimable riches, as Haies firmly believed.

"No lesse heavie was the loss of Captain Maurice Brown, vertuous, honest and descrete gentleman, who shewed himself a man resolved and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeareth, by reporte of them that escaped this wrecke miraculously,

as shal bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the ship, and that men began to give over, and to save themselves, the Captaine was advised before to ship also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship; but refusing that counsell he would not give example with the first to leave the shippe, but used all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leave off their labour choosing rather to die, than to incurre infamie by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to have perished through his defaulte, shewing an ill president unto his men by leaving the ship himself. With this minde he mounted upon the highest decke, where hee attended imminent death and unavoidable how long I leave it to God who withdraweth not his comfort from his servants at such times. In the meane season, certaine to the number of 14 persons leaped into a small pinnesse (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in Newfound land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed and committed themselves to God's mercie, amidst the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitut of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water."

The extraordinary voyage and escape of this boat's crew is best told in the language of "Master Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the *Delight*, going for the discovery of Norembega, with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight."

The imputation was undoubtedly made by Hakluyt, in addition to the strictures of Haies which we have already heard, for Hakluyt, in his *Discourse of Western Planting*, written in the following year but not published until 1877, strongly recommended that a school of navigation should be established, and all mariners compelled to pass an examination in seamanship before being allowed to take charge of a vessel. "Which order," he says, "if it had bene established in

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MEMORIAL WINDOW IN THE GUILDHALL,  
PLYMOUTH.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a ledger or account book. The text is written in a dark ink on a light-colored paper. The entries are organized into columns, with some headings visible at the top. The handwriting is dense and fills the left side of the page.

Blank page with faint horizontal lines, suggesting a ledger or account book. The page is mostly empty, with only a few faint, illegible markings visible near the top edge.

England, such grosse and insufficient fellows as he that caste away the *Admirall* of Sir Humfrey's company with an C persons in her, to the West of Newfoundland this tyme twelve monthes, had not bene admitted to so great a chardge."

Clarke endeavours to throw the blame upon Sir Humphrey, and declares that he kept on the course which brought them to destruction at Sir Humphrey's express injunction. Hakluyt in a marginal note says, "Herein Clarke untruly chargeth Sir Humphrey Gilbert," making the statement, no doubt, after due inquiry and consultation with Captain Haies and Master Cox of the *Golden Hind*. That the discovery of their danger was first made by the *Golden Hind*, although a considerable distance in the wake of the *Delight*, is condemnation sufficient of Clarke.

"A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the *Delight*, going for the discovery of Morembega, with Sir Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight.

"Departing out of Saint Johns Harborough in the Newfoundland the 20. of August unto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our course unto the Ile of Sablon or the Isle of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly have seene. But when we came within twentie leagues of the Isle of Sablon, we feel to controversie of our course. The Generall came up in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke master of the *Admirall* what course was best to keepe: I said that Westsouthwest was best: because the wind was at south and night at hand and unknown sands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded mee to go Westnorthwest. I told him again that the Isle of Sablon was Westnorthwest and but 15. leagues off, and that he should be upon the Island before day, if hee went that course. The Generall sayd, my reckoning was untrue, and charged me in her

Majesties name, and as I would shewe my selfe in her Countrey, to follow him that night. I fearing his threatenings, because he presented her Majesties person, did follow his commaundment, and about seven of the clocke in the morning the ship stroke on ground, where shee was cast away. Then the Generall went off to sea, the course that I would have had ther gone before, and saw the ship cast away men and all, and was not able to save a man, for there was not water upon the sand for either of them much lesse for the *Admirall*, that drew fourteene foote. Now as God would the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ship had killed some foule with his piece, and some of the company desired me that they might hoise out the boat to recover the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboard they did not hoise it in againe that night. And when the ship was cast away the boate was asterne being in burthen one tunne and a halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could swimme, and recovered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coulde: among the rest they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Master: They happened on my selfe being the Master, but could never see the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whose names hereafter I will rehearse. And when the 16 were in the boate, some had small remembrance and some had none: for they did not make account to live, but to prolong their lives as long as it pleased God, and looked every moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them up, the boate being so little and so many men in her, and so foule weather, that it was not possible for a shippe to brooke halfe a coarse of sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee saw it pleased God our boate lived in the Sea (although we had nothing to help us withall but one oare, which we kept up the boate withall upon the Sea, and so went

even as the Sea would drive us) there was in our Company one Master Hedly that put forth this question to me the Master. I doe see that it doth please God, that our boate lyveth in the Sea, and it may please God that some of us may come to the land if our boate were not overladen. Let us make sixteene lots, and those foure that have the foure shortest lots we will cast overboard preserving the Master among us all. I replied unto him, saying, no, we will live and die together. Master Hedly asked me if my remembrance were good: I answered I gave God prayse it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the land, and was in hope to come to the lande within two or three days, and sayde they were but three score leagues from the land (when they were seventie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any sustenance, save onley the weedes that swamme in the Sea, and salt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly died and another moreover: then wee desired all to die: for in all these five dayes and five nights we saw the sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was so foule weather. Thus we did remaine the sixt day: then we were very weeke and wished all to die saving onely my selfe which did confort them and promised they should come soone to lande by the help of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they should never come to land, but that I promised them the seventh day they should come to shore, or els they should cast me overboard: which did happen true the seventh day, for at eleven of the clock wee had sight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All these seven dayes and seven nights, the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meantime shifted upon any other point, wee had never come to land: we were no sooner come to land, but the wind came clean contrary at North within halfe an hour after our arrivall. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of us out of the boate,

yet with much adoe being come all on shore we kneeled down upon our knees and gave God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with us. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes unto a fresh brooke, where we satisfied ourselves with water and berries very well. There were al sorts of berries plentie, & as goodly a countrey as ever I saw: we found a very fair plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre every way: by the Sea side was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as ever I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruse trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I devided the company three and three to goe every way to see what foode they could find to sustaine themselves, and appointed them to meete their againe at noone with such foode as they could get. As we went aboard we found great store of peason as good as any we have in England: a man would thinke they had bene sowed there. We rested there three days and three nights and lived very well with peas and berries, wee named the place St. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When wee had well rested our selves wee rowed our boat along the shore, thinking to have gone to the Grand Bay to have come home with some Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale: And when wee were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered peas and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the shore five dayes: about which time wee came to a very goodly river that ranne farre up in to the Countrey and saw very goodly growen trees of all sortes. There wee happened upon a ship of Saint John de Luz, which ship brought us into Biskay to an Harborough called The Passage. The master of the shippe was our great friend, or els wee had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboard, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were,

he sayd wee were poor fishermen that had cast away our shippe in Newfound land, and so the visitors inquired no more of the matter at that time. Assoone as night was come he put us on land and bad us shift for our selves. Then had wee but tenne or twelve miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the year 1583."

"After this heaueie chance" they were greatly discomfited. They were uncertain of their position, some thinking even that they were engulfed in the Bay of St. Lawrence; they continued beating up and down, thinking they must be near the land, continually sounding and getting from fifty to forty fathoms. When the wind was from the South they had flats and shoals to leeward and were fearful of sharing the fate of the *Delight*. The weather continued thick and blustering and the cold noticeably increased, their provisions began again to get scant and their clothes were worn out, all their surplus stores having been lost in the *Delight*. No wonder that they lost courage. In the little *Frigat* they were particularly distressed and continually besought Sir Humphrey to return to England. Whenever they drew near to the *Golden Hind* they made signs of their condition by pointing to their mouths and holding up their rags to view. Dissatisfaction soon spread to the people of the *Golden Hind*, and they also clamoured to return home. Sir Humphrey was naturally not insensible to these protests, and calling the Captain and Master of the *Golder Hind* into consultation, they finally decided to abandon any further exploration and to turn their prows homeward, "withal prc esting himselfe greatly satisfied with that hee had sene and knewe already. Reiterating these words: Be content wee have seene enough, and take no care of expence past; I will set you foorth royally the next Spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where wee fight against the elements! Omitting circumstances how

unwillingly the Captaine and Master of the *Hinde* condescended to this motion, his owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generall's promises of a speedie return at Spring, and induced by other apparent reasons, proving an impossibilitie to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire. So upon Sunday in the afternoon the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned back for England." And, horrible portent! at the very moment they came about there passed between them and the land "a very lion, in shape, hair, and colour," not swimming but sliding upon the water, with the greater part of his body well in view. He took no notice of their presence "beyond turning his head to and fro with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and to bidde us farewell he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doth a lion—What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe I forbear to deliver; But he took it for Bonum Omen, rejoycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the devill."

The days of enchantment were hardly passed. In this walrus, as it undoubtedly was, they saw the evil genus of the place, lying in hiding so long as they attempted to invade his domain, but coming out and exulting at their discomfiture the instant they turned back.

"The winde was large (fair) for England at our returne, but very high and the sea rough, insomuch as the Frigate wherein the Generall went was almost swallowed up. Munday in the afternoon wee passed in the sight of Cape Race, having made as much way in little more than two days and nights backe againe as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward and speed backe againe is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the windes. which we had more large in our return."

Haies indicates that he and Cox, the master of his vessel, were unwilling to give up the voyage, but were overpersuaded by Sir Humphrey, on his assurance that he was more than satisfied with what he had already seen. There was nothing desperate about their situation, and a few days' perseverance would have provided a change in the weather and a favourable opportunity to come up to the Nova Scotian shore, where they could have made a safe harbour until the equinoxes had passed. Thence, they might have comfortably continued their exploration along the coast for two or three months. But the lure of gold and silver overcame other considerations. Their minds had been inflamed by the fabulous stories of Davy Ingram and "Sir Humphrey's man"; Frobisher's sad experience was forgotten, and the reports of Daniel, the Saxon refiner, were taken for gospel. They were therefore quite willing to be discouraged, they had seen enough, and only wanted to get to England in order that they might fit out a larger expedition to return to this northern Peru, where they might acquire riches to outvie the Spaniards. The planting of an English Colony, the spread of English commerce, religious freedom for loyal Roman Catholics, the relief of the poor in over-populated England, the conversion of the savages, all were forgotten and overshadowed by the reputed discovery of silver by Daniel—a discovery which three hundred years of colonization has failed to verify!

On Monday Sir Humphrey, who had run a nail into his foot, came on board the *Golden Hind* to get the surgeon to dress it. They congratulated themselves that their dangers were then past and that they would soon be home. Haies entreated him to stay on the *Hind*, but we would not be persuaded, and returned to the little *Squirrel*. "Immediately after followed a sharpe storm which we overpassed for that time. Praysed be God."

The weather being fair the Generall again went on

board the *Hind* "to make merrv" with the Captain and ship's company. They discoursed on many things touching their voyage, he lamenting greatly the loss of the *Delight*, more the loss of the men, and most of all the loss of his books and notes. In addition, he was out of measure grieved by the loss of "somev hat," which he refused to explain to Haies, of more importance than his books or anything else. This Haies concluded to be the ore which Daniel had brought to him while lying in St. John's. "Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to contain himselfe, he beat his boy in a great rage, even at the same time, so long after the miscarrying of the great ship, because upon a faire day, when wee were becalmed upon the coast of Newfoundland neere unto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboard the *Admirall*, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time, he could never conveniently send againe aboard the great ship, much lesse he doubted her ruine so neere to hand."

This ineffectual display of temper added fresh confirmation to Haies opinion that a mine had been discovered in Newfoundland which would make them rich beyond the dreams of avarice. More than that, Sir Humphrey had not been at all in favour of the northern parts, but he had changed his mind completely, and had become, as he said, "a Northern man altogether." At first he was quite willing to give grants of land in St. John's, but afterwards suddenly ceased to do so, although certain English merchants were most anxious to obtain them, "offering to imploy their money and travell upon the same; yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his own company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure at first, could it be obtained." This was all very suspicious; again, when talking of their return the next year, he arranged that Haies was to go South and discover in that direction, while he himself returned to St. John's. And when Haies asked how

he intended to raise sufficient funds for such an extensive plan, he replied: "Leve that to mee, I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings unto Her Majestie, who will be so gracious, to lend me 10,000 pounds; for he did thanke God with al his heart for that he had seene, the same being enough for us al and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last wordes he would often repeat, with demonstration of great fervencie of mind, being himselfe very confident and settled in beliefe of inestimable good by his voyage." Haies admits, nevertheless, that the greater part of his company "mistrusted altogether" these assurances, but that was because they had not been let into the secret. He continues: "Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the truth only, and can at his pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit up in the person of our Generall. And as it was God's ordinance upon him, even so the vehement persuasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing availe to divert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his *Frigat*, which was overcharged upon her decks, with fights nettings and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to pass through the ocean sea at this season of the yere, when by course we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough."

When they entreated him from the *Hind* to make the rest of his journey with them, this was his answer: "I will not forsake my little company going homeward with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils."

Haies rather uncharitably considers that he was influenced in making this decision by fear of what men might say of him. Before leaving England the hard report had been circulated that he was afraid of the sea, and that he took this course to disprove the calumny, thus allowing the "winde of a vain report"

to outweigh his own life. If any such feeling influenced him it was probably the solicitous, if somewhat frank, message sent to him by his Queen—that he was noted as a man “having no good hap at sea.” For a seaman to be called unlucky was almost as bad as to be called a coward, and the statement had to be disproved at whatever cost.

But we, who can claim to know him perhaps better than Haies did, can see no reason for attributing to him any but the highest motives in making this speech. It was an attitude of mind and an answer which his whole life leads us to expect. Long ago he had written: “He is not worthy to live at all, that for feare, or danger of death shunneth his countrey's service, and his owne honour: seeing death is inevitable and the fame of virtue immortal.” It was an age of lofty ideals and great deeds. Only a few years later Sidney, his relative and friend, was to come as quickly to a decision, and to act with equally self-denying generosity. “Give it to him, his need is greater than mine, and “I will not forsake my little company” are speeches of immortal fame, and the devil's advocate can assail neither the one nor the other.

Haies continues: “Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the *Hinde*, such as was wanting aboard his Frigat. And so we committed him to God's protection, and set him aboard his Pinnesse, wee being more than 300 leagues onward of our way home.”

They succeeded in reaching across to the longitude of the Azores in safety, and then sailed northward until they “got into the height and elevation of England.” Here they encountered very foul weather with terrific seas, caused, Haies supposed, by the unevenness of the ocean bed; but whatever occasioned them, more outrageous seas had never been encountered by the oldest seamen on board. Also, at night, upon their main yard the weird corposant fires “flamed amaze-

ment." A certain harbinger of dreadful weather and disaster at sea.

"Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoon, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered; and giving forth signes of joy, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, creid unto us into the *Hinde* (so oft as we did approach within hearing) 'We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land.' Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

"The same Munday night about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of us in the *Golden Hinde*, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment the Frigat was devoured and swallowed up of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after until we arrived upon the coast of England. Omitting no small saile at sea unto which we gave not the tokens betweenee us agreed upon to have perfect knowledge of each other, if at any time we should be separated."

"In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning," Haies continued on his voyage.

"Bound sadly home—  
Supposing that they saw the King's ship wrecked  
And his great person perish."

On September 22, they arrived at Falmouth, but proceeded at once to Dartmouth, hoping that they might there hear news of Sir Humphrey. But it was their sad duty instead to inform Sir John Gilbert of their "hard successe." Haies asked Sir John to come on board the *Golden Hind* and make inquiry among the crew of all that had befallen, but he professed himself satisfied with the report made by Captain Haies, and did not altogether despair of his brother's safety. Eighteen years before he had opposed Sir Humphrey's

adventurous designs, and thus at last were his forebodings to be realized.

Haies took harbour at Weymouth, all his men tired with the tediousness of so unprofitable a voyage, but even so he found cause for congratulation, for "amongst very many difficulties, disappointments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortalite, spoylings and wrecke by sea which were afflictions more than in so small fleete or so short a time may be supposed,—it pleased God to support this company, of which only one man died of a maladie inveterate and long infested; the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants or prevented by death.

"Thus have I delivered the contents of the enterprise and last action of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appear (though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his ventures, he remaining firm and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and Godly, as was this, to discover, possess and to reduce unto the service of God and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen countreys of America, not actually possessed by Christians and most rightly appertaining unto the Crowne of England: unto the which, as his zeale deserveth high commendation: even so he may justly be taxed of temeritie and presumption rather in two respects."

The strictures which Haies made upon Sir Humphrey's conduct are such as would naturally be expected from a disappointed shareholder! They were, first, that "he was too prodigal of his own patrimony and too careless of other men's expences on a ground *imagined* good." That Sir Humphrey's plans were too indefinite, and his information about the countries he proposed to explore too slight, to have warranted him in inducing people to invest their money.

Second, that when his first expedition failed, his pride occasioned him "to thruste himself againe into action for which he was not fit."

In short, Haies felt that he had been induced to invest his money in a wild cat scheme; the disastrous ending of which was doubly galling when he felt so certain that Daniel had discovered a mine of great richness, all knowledge of which was lost.

## CHAPTER XIV

### AN APPRECIATION

THUS died Sir Humphrey Gilbert, one of the noblest and most single-minded of the great Elizabethans, observing to the bitter end the golden rule which he had set up as his standard so many years before. Rather than appear to shun death he almost courted it. *Mutare vel timere sperno*. As he returned to his little boat and his faithful companions, this adage so boastfully uttered must have recurred to his memory. It was a curiously exact illustration of the principle he had enunciated, and even more accurately has been measured out to him the reward which he promised to those who met death in their country's service. The fame of his virtue is immortal. Whenever brave deeds and noble words are enumerated his are not forgotten. That he first endeavoured to enlarge the boundaries of Britain has been generally overlooked, but the last great message which he left us is a legacy for all time, for the comfort of those who go down to sea in ships, and of those who are left behind. "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land," may have been said before, but never surely with such a tragic issue to stamp it upon the memory.

The mainspring of his life was his devotion to his Queen. "From a boy to the age of white hairs" he had occupied himself in her service. As a humble member of her household, a young soldier in France, a ruler in Ireland, a member of Parliament, a commander of troops in the Low Countries, and as a pioneer of colonization he had served her faithfully, always with regard to her wishes, and for the advancement of her glory.

His patriotism and his devotion to his Queen seem to merge, and it is difficult at times to distinguish between them, but when, during his session in Parliament, these interests appeared to clash, his lifelong habit of personal loyalty won the day. He would have had patriotism the basis of all education. The youth of the nobility were to be taught that their first duty was to the commonwealth, and in order that they might be of value, they were to be trained as soldiers, lawgivers, counsellors, and in all that pertained to high offices of state. No longer was their aim in life to be bounded by their ability "to hallo a hound or lure a hawk." Although intimately known to Elizabeth and the recipient of continual preferment, yet their relationship was ever dignified and self-respecting. We find with him none of the grovelling flatteries which so often make the conduct of her courtiers appear despicable. His confidence in her favour and kindly feeling to himself are many times manifested. "Her Majestie never yet denied me of anything" was not a meaningless speech. Though his petitions were often delayed, they were always granted in the end.

That this confidence was not misplaced her personal letters bear witness. Thus she wrote to Sir Henry Sidney, directing that he should be promoted; to Walsingham, expressing concern for his safety if he departed on his arduous journey; and through Raleigh her farewell, as to "a person whom she tendereth." There is an almost tender tone in her expressions of interest in his affairs, indicating the high esteem and respect with which she regarded him.

The greatest blot upon his career which has been recorded, was the cruelty of his conduct to the unhappy Irish; the only extenuation for which that can be suggested is that it was the custom of the age, and not a purely personal fault. Sir Henry Sidney, Essex, Raleigh, and many others are implicated in similar atrocities, and even the gentle Spenser witnessed and

condoned them. In the histories of the European wars of the period are found many parallel instances.

But the *raison d'être* of this book is to proclaim Humphrey Gilbert as the father of English colonization. His mind was strikingly original in an age when every man was a genius. In everything he showed himself a seer and a prophet, but in this particular he was "the voice crying in the wilderness." He was not aware himself at first of the extent to which his theories would develop. When he first propounded his schemes, all England looked askance; it was an unheard-of thing for English people to leave their native land; moreover, the law imposed heavy fines and forfeitures upon absentees. It was a difficult task to overcome such deep-rooted prejudices. Well might he say that he had "to endure the scorn of all the world for conceiving so well of a matter that others held as ridiculous, although now by my means better thought of." In all great movements the same order may be observed, at first the "voice," then the few followers and a generation of education, and finally universal adoption. So it was in the beginning of this wonderful movement which has hardly yet reached its climax. Humphrey Gilbert at first recommended the planting of but one hundred men to hold the pass to Cathaia; when he soon proposed formal assumption of sovereignty over some part of the New World and the planting of a colony, he had but a few of his relations and personal friends to assist him—and perhaps their support was obtained rather by his persistence than from any conviction of their own—but in the end he reckoned among his associates some of the greatest men of the day. In the meanwhile his conception of a colony had grown to be almost Utopian.

We have read how he endeavoured to accomplish his project, how unhappily he failed, and how nobly he died. But to him is the honour of being the first to make the attempt, and of having broken the path which was to lead England to the apex of her glory.

Camden, writing about twenty years later, says o

him, that he was "a quick and lively spirited gentleman, famous for his knowledge in matters relating to both war and peace"; and of his colonization schemes he says, "learning too late himself and teaching others that it is a difficult thing to carry over colonies in too remote countries upon private men's purses, that he and others in an erroneous credulity had persuaded themselves to their own cost and detriment." But nevertheless it was thus that success was afterwards achieved.

Of his personal character there seems to be nought but praise. Edmund Howes, in his continuation of Stowe's *Annals*, 1615, says: "He was a great favourer of the arts and learning, and despised Piracie." Yet we find him accused of that crime by Mendoza, and, for a time, somewhat under a cloud on account of it. But whether piracy was a crime or not depended on where and upon whom it was committed. If upon their own nation and in the home waters it was quickly punished by death, if upon the Spaniards and on the high seas it was a deed of renown for which the reward was knighthood and high honour. Whether Gilbert, on either of his voyages, was personally guilty of preying upon peaceful commerce is not proven; that he proposed the destruction of the helpless Spanish fleet at Newfoundland informs us in what light he regarded actions of the kind. It is permitted to scotch the snake before it is ready to strike; to cripple Spanish power on the sea was therefore the duty of every Briton, a duty they all cheerfully performed. But this was not regarded as piracy by the English, whatever the Spanish ambassadors may have called it. Gilbert on several occasions disclaimed any piratical designs, and indeed flattered himself that he had abstained when he might have gathered sufficient booty to defray the expenses of his voyages.

Gilbert confessed himself of a somewhat hot and choleric disposition. In the campaign in the Low Countries we find him several times reported as having given exhibitions of temper, and even on his last voyage he breaks out in a rage against the boy who had neg-

lected his orders some weeks before. Haies comments on this weakness, but notes that "the crosses, turmoils, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humours which before wee noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made unsavourie and lesse delightful his other manifold vertues. Then as he was refined and made nearer drawing unto the image of God; so it pleased the divine will to resume him unto himselfe, whither both his and every other high and noble mind have always aspired."

Of his private life we have no information. His references to his wife in his letters show an apologetic attitude towards her, in that he had spent upon his visionary schemes her dower as well as his own patrimony. This is a habit common to all enthusiasts. They know they are jeopardizing the welfare of those dearest to them, but are yet irresistibly borne along on their career by the passion which absorbs them.

As a leader of men Gilbert was not a success. Failure and disappointment met him on every hand. In Ireland alone was he judged to have succeeded, and there the peace which he procured at such dreadful cost lasted but a moment. In the Netherlands the conditions were such that success was well nigh impossible. The allied troops were distraught by jealousies, suspecting each other and suspected by those they went to succour. He cannot be held responsible for the reverses that naturally followed. Although his leadership might have been at fault, his bravery in the field was conspicuous; his subordinates and his superior officers are alike in their praise of him in this respect.

And as to his great purpose, he was a generation ahead of his time. The art of colonization was unknown in England, and it took a generation of attempts and failures before the secret of success was learned. Perhaps the nation was not quite ready for it, and those that embarked upon it did so but half-heartedly. The idea was too new, and it was necessary for those destined to

succeed to grow up in familiarity with it. They were a noble band of failures, those first colonizers—Gilbert, Raleigh, Grenville, Cavendish, Lane and White.

Froude classes Gilbert amongst "England's Forgotten Worthies." To be sure his study was written fifty years ago, but have Gilbert, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Davis ever been forgotten? In his masterly, lucid style he makes the age live again, but the details he gives are often far astray. His prejudices are notorious; still much may be forgiven the author of such an illuminating paragraph as the following—

"The springs of great actions are always difficult to analyze—impossible to analyze perfectly—possible to analyze only very proximately; and the force by which a man throws out of himself a good action is invisible and mystical, like that which brings out the blossom and the fruit upon the tree. The motives which we find men urging for their enterprises seem often insufficient to have prompted them to so large a daring. They did what they did from the great unrest in them which made them do it, and what it was may be best measured by the results in the present England and America."

This seems particularly applicable to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. While in this study of his life an attempt has been made to analyze his motives and trace the influences which surrounded him, perhaps Froude's explanation is nearer the truth, and he did what he did from the "great unrest" in him. An unrest born of the times—caused by the expansion of space, of thought, of learning, of freedom, which makes Elizabeth's reign one of the most wonderful periods in history. When one tells over the names of the great Elizabethans,—great in every department of thought and of action,—it is evident that there was some force, common to all of them, which stirred them to the accomplishment of such great work. Gilbert's motto, so well chosen for himself, seems generally appropriate for the age.

## CHAPTER XV

1583-1610

THE circumstances in which Lady Gilbert and her family of young children had been left were deplorable, although Sir Humphrey thought that he had made ample provision for them. It appears that he had bought the Manor of Mynster in the Isle of Sheppey, from Lord Cheyney, and should have made the last payment of 1000 marks on July 4, 1583. But before that day he had made a *pro forma* sale of the property to Sir Edward Hobey, and had taken a lease from him in return. It was proposed that Sir Edward Hobey was to default on the last payment to Lord Cheyney, thus allowing the property to revert to him, upon the assurance that Lord Cheyney would sell the property to him again for account of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, according to the original agreement. The object of this circuitous dealing was to enable Sir Humphrey, who had "entangled the land with dyvers remaynders and uses, to avoid those intanglements." But Sir Edward Hobey had abused the trust reposed in him, and in Sir Humphrey's absence had "onely used the advantage of the new assurance (sale or lease) to the defraudinge of the lease made by him to Sir Humphrey—and hee no waye prejudyced to the value of one penny."

"Wherefore the Lady Gilbert moste humbly prayeth that she maye enjoye her lease accordinge to the true meaninge of the first bergayne, because it is the only staye that is lefte her to lyve by in her husband's absence."

We are not informed of the result of this extraordinary transaction, the commercial morality of which appears to

be so questionable. Lady Gilbert continued in sore need of financial assistance, for in 1585, Sir Walter Raleigh was moved to interest himself in her behalf, and procured for her from Elizabeth "A graunte of all such lands in the countie of Kent as Richard Guilford, Esquire, was seased of at the time of his departure beyond the seas contrarie to a statute made against fugitives, with a further graunte to the saide Ladie of all the goods, chattels and debts anie way due to the said Guylford at his said departure, and that it shall be lawful for the said Ladie for the recoverie of the sayd goods and debts eyther to sue for ye same in Her Maistie's name or in her owne. The goods to have forever without anie accompt and the landes for so long time as they shall be in Her Majestie's hands. Subscribed by Mr. Attorney Generall. Procured by Sir Walter Raleigh xij s, iiijd."

But again peaceful enjoyment of her grant was not vouchsafed to her, for a year later, in October 1586, complaint was made to the Privy Council that Guilford's friends or retainers were trying to dispossess her, one "Moyle" having forcibly entered the house. The Privy Council directed that steps were to be taken to restore quiet possession to her and to maintain her in it.

Before many years, however, her eldest son John succeeded to the title and estates of his uncle Sir John Gilbert, who died childless. He also died without issue, and in 1608, the estate devolved upon Raleigh Gilbert, Sir Humphrey's youngest son, from whom the present representatives of the family are descended. John Gilbert the second accompanied his uncle, Sir Walter Raleigh, on his ill-fated expedition to Guiana, in 1595. After their return he and his uncle fell out over the division of profits of a privateering expedition. A copy of the letter, somewhat mutilated, which Raleigh wrote to him is reprinted in Edward's *Life of Raleigh*. He writes in a very reproachful, satirical strain, accusing his nephew of ingratitude. Among other things he

reminds him that "the seat where you are—(Guilford's estate in Kent) that it was not alone for yourself that you had it, and that I have yett so many enemies for it bothe in courte and countrie. And—howsoever you may answer—the world knows well enough what I have dun, and will judge you accordingly, both for your father, your unkell, and your selfe." . . . He concludes: "And for your fortunes otherwise, fear not that I will labour to lessen them; as I will not hereafter look after them. And when myne shall be at worst, yet they shal never neade your healpe, whatsoever yours have dun myne. Your Unkell, Walter Ralegh."

Even before Sir Humphrey sailed on his last voyage, his brother Adrian Gilbert had been plotting in some measure to supplant him. Adrian Gilbert is spoken of as a doctor of medicine, and is thus described in Aubrey's *Lives*: "He was an excellent chymist and a great favourite of Mary, Countess of Pembroke, with whom he lived and was her operator. He was a man of great parts, but the greatest buffoon in England, cared not what he said to man or woman of what quality soever. Some curious ladies of our countries have rare receipts of his. 'Twas he that made the curious wall about Rollington Park at Wilton." He had inherited Sandridge from his father, so was early thrown into association with that famous scion of this hamlet, John Davis. In October 1579, John Dee records that Adrian Gilbert and John Davis had reconciled themselves to him, having been estranged through the wiles of one Emery; in June 1580, they visited him again. The object of these visits is not disclosed, but we may presume that they were for the purpose of learning whether the stars were propitious for some intended undertaking.

In January 1583, Mr. Secretary Walsingham and Adrian Gilbert visited him to discuss the North-West Passage and arranged to meet him the next day. At this meeting John Davis was present, and again they talked *in secret* of the North-West Passage. On March 6,

there was another conference, when Adrian Gilbert, John Davis, Mr. Alderman Barnes, Mr. Towerson, Mr. Yong, and Mr. Hudson again discussed the possibility of a passage to Cathay.<sup>1</sup>

No sooner had all hope of the return of Sir Humphrey been abandoned, than Adrian Gilbert petitioned the Queen for Letters Patent empowering him to organize an expedition to seek the North-West Passage. This was Sir Humphrey's original idea, but, as we have seen, had been abandoned by him for a full colonization scheme. Letters Patent were therefore granted on February 6, 1584, to Adrian Gilbert and his associates, who were to be known as "The colleagues of the fellowship for the discovery of the Northwest Passage." The original petition was in the name of Adrian Gilbert, John Dee, and John Davis, and included a request for liberty to colonize. A first draft of the Letters Patent substitutes Walter Raleigh for John Dee, but the final document, as executed, drops the colonization portion and is in the name of Adrian Gilbert only. Under this patent John Davis made his ever-memorable voyages to the North-west. The expeditions were financed chiefly by William Saunderson, whose wife was Sir Walter Raleigh's niece, being the daughter of his step-sister. Saunderson also bore the brunt of the expense of Sir Walter Raleigh's expeditions, being at one time security for him for over £100,000.

While Adrian Gilbert was thus prompt to take up one portion of Sir Humphrey's plans, Walter Raleigh was equally eager to appropriate another. The date of the expiry of Sir Humphrey's patent was June 11, 1584, but it must have been realized at once that there was no possibility for exercising the rights under the patent in the short time that remained. All Sir Humphrey's sub-leases became invalid with his patent; and Sir Philip Sidney, Sir George Peckham, Sir Thomas Gerrard, John

<sup>1</sup> Could this by any chance have been Henry Hudson?

Dee and the Southampton Company had to submit to see their dreams of principalities vanish "like the baseless fabric of a dream." Sir George Peckham did indeed make an endeavour to keep alive interest in Sir Humphrey's patent, and as soon as possible after the return of Haies, published a pamphlet called "The Western Planting." In it he described the country Sir Humphrey had taken possession of in the right of the Crown of England, and all the benefits that must accrue if his scheme of colonization were carried out. But no action was taken by any of the leaseholders, and the patents of Adrian Gilbert and Walter Raleigh being issued a few months later, finally prevented any pretence of claim being made by the leaseholders. One wonders what became of the grants issued to the English fishermen in St. John's harbour. Doubtless they tried to keep them alive, but within a few years, having no legal title, must perforce have abandoned them. But seeing that St. John's was not settled until some years after other harbours, it is possible that claims arising out of Gilbert's grants were long maintained.

Sir Walter Raleigh was now in the heyday of his relationship with the Queen, and secured the reversion of Sir Humphrey's patent without difficulty. His patent was signed on March 25, 1584, and is almost word for word an exact duplicate of Sir Humphrey's. An important difference is, however, worthy of notice. The monopoly of trade to the countries discovered is secured to the patentee with the exception of "the subjects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, trading to the Newfound lands for the fishing, as heretofore they have commonly used." A similar clause to this is inserted in the patent granted to John Guy and others in 1610, under which the oldest colonial settlement now under the Crown of England was made.

Walter Raleigh has been acclaimed as the founder of England's colonial empire upon the strength of this

patent, the idea and the very words of which were taken direct from Sir Humphrey Gilbert. It was Raleigh's privilege to try to carry on his brother's work; he had learned his lesson well, had learned to think imperially, and saw a vision of Greater Britain. He followed Sir Humphrey's plans exactly and also sent harbingers to survey the land. Within a month he dispatched two barks under Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, and with them, our former acquaintance Simon Ferdinando. Queen Elizabeth offered to defray all expenses provided he himself refrained from going. In a few months Barlow and Amadas returned telling of the charming fertile country they had found and taken possession of in the name of Queen Elizabeth, who forthwith named it after herself "Virginia." Of Raleigh's attempt in the following year to plant a colony in this auspiciously named country, of the errors made in the plans and the selection of colonists, of the estrangement of the natives by Grenville, and the abandonment of the colony the next year we need not tell. In 1587, another colony was sent out and left in the country. The Commander of the expedition was Captain John White and our old friend Simon Ferdinando the "continual pilot." The account of this voyage says, the "all knowing Ferdinando" did what he could to bring the voyage to confusion, and our last record of him is that he "with much adoe at last arrived at Portsmouth." A new school of navigators had evidently arisen.

The coming of the Armada made it impossible to send succour to the little band of colonists the next year, and so in spite of continued efforts to reach them on the part of Raleigh, they were perforce abandoned and were murdered by the native Indians.

Raleigh was able to carry the experiment a little further than Gilbert, and his failure was proportionately greater. As a consequence of this second failure colonization was dropped for nearly twenty years. It is evident that the country was not ready for it, the very

novelty of the idea bred suspicion and fear in the people with whom the experiment was tried, and inclined them to be half-hearted in their attempts to overcome the first obstacles. It took just a generation from the time when Gilbert first sought and obtained his patent, to the first permanent establishment of the English people in the New World.

Gilbert's programme found able advocates in Sir George Peckham and Richard Hakluyt. The former was very largely interested in trying to keep Gilbert's patent alive, seeing that he held such an extensive sub-lease under it. The pamphlet written by him, referred to above, was reprinted twice by Hakluyt, and no doubt had considerable influence in familiarizing the rising generation with the idea. Hakluyt himself never ceased to preach from this his favourite text. He religiously collected all the information available about the new countries and interviewed every traveller. He, a second time, had some intention of going himself to see the promised land. Writing to Walsingham from Paris on January 7, 1584, he says: "And now because I know this present enterprise is like soon to wax cold and fall to the ground unless in this second voyage all diligence in searching out every hope of gain be used, and calling to mind that your Honor made a motion heretofore unto me whether I could be contented to go myself into the action, these are to put your Honor out of doubt, that for mine own part I am most willing to go now in the same, this present setting forth, and in the service of God and my country to employ all my ample observations, reading, and reference whatsoever." Why this offer was not accepted is not told.

On April 1 he wrote again, this time strongly recommending the foundation of a School for Navigation in England. "In my simple judgement it would be the best hundred pounds bestowed, that was bestowed these five hundred years in England." He had received the support of Sir Francis Drake and the promise of a

yearly subscription from that renowned navigator. He wrote again on the 7th complaining that the promise which had been made him of a prebendary at Bristol had not been fulfilled, and reminded Walsingham of all he had done to further the Western discoveries. He also referred to a book he had written in support of this design, with which the Queen had been greatly pleased. This was no doubt his own *Discourse of Western Planting*, which he modestly left out of his own publications, although it is considerably the most learned and able document on the subject, of the age. It remained in obscurity for nearly 300 years, when a manuscript copy of it was discovered and published by the Maine Historical Society (1877). The advantages of colonization are fully argued. First, as became a preacher, he urged the conversion of the heathen. He then dwelt upon all the advantages of commerce with the new world. Of Newfoundland he wrote enthusiastically, quoting Peckham and Parmenius. Besides the great wealth of the fisheries, he stated that pitch, tar, resin, soap-ashes, masts for vessels and rich furs could be obtained from there. He took an idea from the author of "How Her Majestie may annoye the King of Spain," and pointed out how easy it would be to sweep the Spanish fishing fleet from those seas and thus deal Spain a paralysing blow. As to the fishery, he instanced that the French often made two trips to the Grand Banks yearly, thus making excellent gains. The increase of shipping would be enormous—"a taste of this increase we have had in our own selves by our trade of fishing in Newfoundland." But he counselled seeking the more southern fishing-grounds off Cape Breton or Nova Scotia, where they would be free of ice. Hakluyt also declares England to have become overcrowded during the long peace and freedom from disease, that the people were ready to eat one another up, the trades overcrowded and thousands of people idle. Colonization was to improve this condition of things by transferring some across the seas,

and finding employment for those left at home by the great increase of commerce.

It is an able presentation of the case, and it is a great pity that Hakluyt's contemporaries did not have the advantage of studying it.

In 1585, the King of Spain at last had serious cause for annoyance, as Sir Bernard Drake was sent to Newfoundland to seize the Spanish fishing vessels, and returned with a goodly number, containing over 600 mariners. Sir John Gilbert, in whose charge these unfortunates were placed, was instructed that as Her Majesty's subjects in Spain had been used in "hard and unsufferable strain," the diet of the Spanish mariners was to be reduced to threepence per day, and to consist principally of salt fish.

After the defeat of the Armada, the operations of British fishermen in Newfoundland waters increased apace. In 1594, Raleigh wrote to Robert Cecil, urging him to send some armed vessels to protect the fishing-fleet returning home from Newfoundland, which he estimated at over one hundred ships. "If thos should be lost," he wrote, "it would be the greatest blow that ever was given to England."

Voyages had been made within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, even as far as Anticosti, in search of whales and walrus. Quantities of the latter animals were discovered at the Magdalen Islands; one successful fisherman wrote that they yielded an abundance of oil, "which, if it will make soap, the King of Spain can burn his olive-trees."

But except for the unsuccessful voyages for the relief of Raleigh's colony, there was no communication with the seaboard south of Cape Breton for many years, and no further attempt at colonization.

In 1595, Raleigh sought to rehabilitate himself in the graces of Elizabeth by striving to find and win the fabled Eldorado, supposed to be situated in Guiana, and to exceed in riches either Mexico or Peru. The expedition was for conquest and spoils, without any idea

of colonization. The disastrous result of the second attempt to settle in Virginia had disgusted Raleigh with the idea. He despised the day of small things, says one of his biographers. He therefore made over his patent to a company, and for himself desired to rival Pizarro and Hernando Cortes.

The failure of this expedition sunk Raleigh deeper in disgrace, instead of restoring him to favour, as he had hoped. But the great idea for which Gilbert gave his life was not dead. There still lived one who had been intimately associated with him, had adopted in its entirety his scheme of political economy, and saw with him that England's empire lay upon the seas and across the seas. Richard Hakluyt, now Prebendary of Westminster, was never tired of propagating this doctrine. In 1589, he published his greatest sermon, *The Principal Navigation, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*.<sup>1</sup>

When Raleigh sold out his grant, Hakluyt was one of the company to take it over; it is more than likely that he was the promoter of the plan. But nothing could be achieved in the few remaining years of the life of the patent. In 1598, 1599, 1600, he republished his famous book, greatly enlarged by the numerous voyages of the intervening years. In 1602, was made the next voyage to Virginia, under Capt. Gosnoll and Capt. Bartholomew Gilbert, sailing from Dartmouth; but whether this Capt. Gilbert was a relative of Sir Humphrey cannot be ascertained. It was but a voyage of discovery, and was completed without misadventure.

In 1603, "by the inducements and perswasions of

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this book is one of the writer's dearest possessions. It is in the original calf binding, now black and shining with the use of 320 years. Its history, could it be told, would doubtless reveal numberless instances when it has aroused an enthusiasm for exploration and adventure, and influenced England's sons to carry her flag yet further, to spread to some remoter clime those ideals of liberty, order, and justice which have enabled England to hold what her sons have gained.

Master Richard Hakluite, Master John Whitson being Mayor, with his brethren the Aldermen, and most of the merchants of the city of Bristow, reised a stock of £1000 to furnish out two Barkes," to resume once more the exploration of America. In 1605, further knowledge of the coast was obtained from the voyage of Capt. Weymouth. The time now seemed ripe for another attempt to be made to plant a colony in this latter promised land, of which such glowing reports were continually received. In 1606, therefore, another colonizing patent was issued to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Rich. Hakluyt, Prebendary of Westminster, Edward Maria Wingfield, adventurers of London; and to Thos. Hamon, Raleigh Gilbert, Wm. Parker, Geo. Popham, and others, adventurers of Plymouth. Licence was granted them "to deduce sundry of our people" into Virginia and other parts of America between 34° and 45° N.L. Two colonies were to be planted, the first by the Merchant Adventurers of London aforesaid, and the second by the Merchant Adventurers of Plymouth.

The history of the securing of this grant is not forthcoming, but we can surmise with safety that it was Richard Hakluyt and young Raleigh Gilbert who again revived the idea.

Captain Newport was placed in command of the expedition sent out by the London adventurers, and succeeded in planting the first colony of Englishmen that was to endure. The spiritual affairs of the colony were entrusted to Hakluyt, who, however, prudently sent a substitute, Mr. Robert Hunt, to officiate for him.

The second colony, which was to be planted in the northern portion of the companies' limits, was dispatched in May 1607, under Captains Popham and Raleigh Gilbert. During the winter, which was very severe, Captain Popham died, and the command devolved upon Captain Gilbert. But news coming from England that Sir John Gilbert was dead, Captain Gilbert, who suc-

ceeded to the estates, was compelled to return to England, and the whole company "finding nothing but extreme extremities" in the New World, decided to return with him.

There seemed to be a malign fate attaching to the enterprises of the Gilberts and Raleighs.

At Newfoundland, as has already been stated, the fishing operations of the English were greatly increased. The setting up of the Arms of England by Humphrey Gilbert endorsed the rights derived from Cabot's discovery and marked it for the English Crown, doubtless giving additional reason to the domineering West Countrymen for lording it over the fishermen of other nations. But no attempt was made to settle in Newfoundland until 1610. The claim has been made by some historians that St. John's had been populated even long before Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage. Lorenzo Sabine, *History of American Fisheries*, 1853, has been quoted in support, as he makes the statement that some forty or fifty houses for the accommodation of fishermen were built in Newfoundland so early as 1522. This statement is entirely unsupported, and is, in fact, contradicted directly by authentic accounts. It is beyond any question a misprint for 1622, and it seems strange that it should have been seriously considered. Sir Humphrey's patent only authorized him to take possession of and settle lands unpossessed of any Christian nation, and Haies, when relating their excellent entertainment in that desolate corner of the world, concludes with the statement "where at other times of the year, wilde beastes and birds have only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented." Thus clearly showing that it was only used as a fishing station in summer months. Haies and Peckham both assemble arguments to prove that it was habitable; had it been inhabited already, their arguments would have been unnecessary.

Richard Whitbourne, in his *Discourse and Discovery*

of Newfoundland, 1622, is at great pains to show how beneficial it would be for their fishing operations if each ship left one-fifth part of her crew to take care of the property left behind, and to make ready stages and fish flakes for the next summer. One of the harbours strongly recommended by him to be thus utilized was St. John's. This was a new and original proposition, and was urged with great insistence; if there had been at that time houses in St. John's and people living in them all the year round, he would have surely stated it, as he would have needed no other argument to prove its feasibility. It is 1626, before we have definite information of any houses erected at St. John's, although, as we shall hear later, a portion of Sir Wm. Alexander's company, intended for Nova Scotia, wintered there in 1622-3. In 1627, one William Payne wrote to Catherine, Lady Conway, expressing the hope that Lord Conway would come in for a proportion in the lot of St. John's, Newfoundland, well known to be the chief and prime lot in the whole country. Great hope of good commodities from thence; some houses having been already built there, it would require no great charge to follow. Forty years, therefore, had elapsed after Sir Humphrey's assumption of sovereignty before St. John's was permanently inhabited.

But other parts of Newfoundland had been inhabited before St. John's. On February 9th, 1609, certain merchants of London and Bristol, who had been interested in the fishing trade to Newfoundland, petitioned the Privy Council for letters patent to permit the colonization of the country. The articles submitted by them began by stating their confidence that the country was habitable in winter, and their reasons for the belief. They said that 200 English ships and 6000 fishermen annually visited the country, and that if any foreign Power were to take possession and fortify it, the loss to English trade "would be of more consequence than now can be imagined." It was therefore highly import-

ant that it should be settled by the English, thus securing the valuable trade that had been developed. By which means also not only would the valuable fisheries be very greatly increased, but many other commodities of great commercial importance to England would be produced by the settlers. They therefore prayed for the grant of a portion of the country "never yet inhabited by any Christian people."

These "Articles" were submitted to the Master and Wardens of Trinity House, who, after carefully debating upon them on February 24, 1609, declared their opinion "that people may very well lyve there," and recommended that the prayer of the petition should be granted. Accordingly, on May 2, 1610, Letters Patent were granted to Henry, Earl of Northampton, Keeper of the Privy Seal; Sir Lawrence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Sir John Dodderidge; Sir Francis Bacon, Solicitor General; John Slaney; Humphrey Slaney; John Guy; Philip Guy, and many others, incorporating them under the title of the "Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London and Bristol for the Colony or Plantation of Newfoundland." John Guy, a young and enterprising merchant of Bristol, and Humphrey Slaney, of London, were the leading spirits in the Company. They had been engaged in the fisheries in Newfoundland, and saw that if they were to be secured to the English nation, it was necessary to colonize the country. Purchase says that he had in his possession a tract written by Guy in 1609, urging the undertaking, but no copy of it is now extant. The Patent goes on to say: "Being desirous to establish a colony or colonies in the southern and eastern parts of Newfoundland, unto the coast and harbors whereof our subjects *for fifty years and upwards* yearly used to resort in no small numbers to fish, intending to secure the said trade of fishing for ever, We being well assured that the lands and countries adjoining said coasts where our subjects used to fish *remain so desolate of inhabitants* that scarce any one

savage person hath in many years been seen in the most parts thereof, and well knowing that the same is very commodious to us and our dominion, and that by the law of nature and nations we may possess ourselves and make grant thereof without doing wrong to any other Prince or State considering they cannot justly pretend any sovereignty or right thereto, in respect *the same is not possessed or inhabited by any Christian or any other whomsoever.*"

This preamble is conclusive evidence, first, that English fishermen had continually fished on the coast of Newfoundland for fifty years and more, and, second, that, up to that date, no European had settled, or made any permanent habitation in the country. The grant made to this company comprised all that portion of the country contained between the parallels passing through Cape Bonavista on the north, and Cape St. Mary's on the west, together with all the lands and islands within ten leagues of the coast from 46° to 52° N. Lat. Exception is again made, as in Raleigh's Patent, to the rights of fishermen, both English and foreign, "who do at present or hereafter shall trade to the parts aforesaid for fishing."

Rights of all sorts were conveyed to this Company—to the mines and minerals, fishing, huntings and commodities,—to make and pass current such coins as may be required in Newfoundland,—to punish, pardon and to govern. All persons inhabiting the colony or to be born there to become free denizens and natural subjects of England. Nothing was left out that could be thought of to give power to the Company, and to induce colonists to go out and tempt fate in the New World.

We are surprised to find that Hakluyt was not a shareholder in this Company. Nor can there be traced a single member who was interested with Gilbert, Raleigh, or the Virginia Company. They were apparently chiefly merchants who had been engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries, and therefore readily supported Guy's proposal.

Among the Company will be first noticed the great Lord Bacon, then Solicitor General. His influence at Court was not great at that time. In spite of many efforts to ingratiate himself, James held him at arm's length, and it was not until after Sir Robert Cecil's death in 1612, that he gained the ear of the King. But while he may have been unable to exercise any influence in the securing of the charter of Guy's Company, it is more than probable that he drafted it, and that its wise provisions are owing to his penetration and forethought. His counsels no doubt occasioned the selection of fit and proper persons as colonists, and it is not improbable that John Guy received from him, *viva voce*, his first speculations on *Plantations*, if not, indeed, a MS. copy of that wise little essay. As it was not included in the first edition of the *Essays* in 1597, but first appeared in the second edition, 1612, it is reasonable to conclude that it was the direct outcome of his meditations upon the proposed colony in Newfoundland.

One can imagine how the noble Raleigh, now undergoing his fifteen years' imprisonment, chafed at his chains when he saw others taking up, and bringing to a successful issue, the designs of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in which he himself had made such a dismal failure. But colonization had ceased to occupy his attention. His case was desperate, and needed a more powerful remedy than such kudos as could be obtained by the slow and doubtful process of colonization.

He still dreamed of *El Dorado*, and continually begged that he be set at liberty and allowed once more to go in search of it. Finally, James's cupidity was aroused, and the old eagle was again set free to seek for prey, once more to meet disaster and disappointment; and again to return and give himself up to captivity, from which the headsman's axe was to release him at last.

But to return to Guy's Colony. As he was familiar with the country, and had instigated the enterprise, he was chosen to lead the little band of settlers who

were again to attempt the colonization of Newfoundland.

Some time in the spring of 1610, they set out, and, reaching the coast of Newfoundland in safety, took up their abode in Cowper's or Cuper's Cove, in Conception Bay. In process of time this name has been converted into Cupid's, by pure inadvertence, we are assured, and not on account of any amorous proclivities among the inhabitants.

It was a beautiful little bay sheltered from the north and east, well wooded, with two rivers falling into it, and with excellent fishing grounds in close proximity.

That this was the first settlement in Newfoundland we have the evidence of several contemporary witnesses. The first of these is Sir William Alexander, who issued his little tract, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, in 1624. Speaking of Newfoundland, he says: "The first houses for a habitation were built in Cupids Cove within the Bay of Conception, where people did dwell for sundrie yeares together, and some well satisfied both for pleasure and profit are dwelling there still." He also furnishes us with the first record of any one spending the winter in St. John's. The first ship that he sent to take possession of his grant in Nova Scotia was late in getting out. Returning, they put into St. John's, where part of the company decided to stay, sending the ship back to England. Some of these people took service with the fishermen arriving at St. John's in the spring of 1623, and refused to go on to Nova Scotia in the vessel shortly after arriving from Sir William Alexander. It is very probable that the people who separated themselves from Sir William Alexander's colony remained at St. John's, and thus made the first permanent settlement there. The Bristol Company made a second settlement at Bristol's Hope (Harbour Grace) soon after that at Cupid's. A third attempt was made at Trepassey, with Welshmen as colonists, under the command of the eccentric Sir

William Vaughan, but failed miserably. He was, however, still full of the idea, and in his fantastic book, *The Golden Fleece*, published 1626, urged the colonization of Newfoundland. He several times stated that "John Guy, Alderman of Bristol, was the first Christian that planted and wintered in that Island, establishing an English colony at Cuper's Cove in Conception Bay." Vaughan was certainly acquainted with every detail.

Guy himself bears evidence to his claim of first settler. In his first letter to the Company, May 16, 1611, he tells how he disproved by his own experience the doubt which had been entertained whether Newfoundland was habitable during the winter; and that many fishermen, "seeing their safety," had become in love with the country, and intended to settle in it.

The little settlement of Cupid's still survives, as a humble fishing hamlet. It has been outstripped in the race in Newfoundland, and all around it are more flourishing villages; but it has a claim to notice which is unique, for it is the oldest colonial settlement now within the bounds of Greater Britain. Virginia and the New England colonies antedated it, but they are no longer within the empire. Quebec was also settled two years earlier, but the credit of it belongs to France. Sir George Somers was wrecked on the Bermudas in 1609, and remained there until 1610, when he went on to Virginia with all his company save three men who elected to remain behind; but it was not until 1612 that a charter was granted authorizing the planting of a colony in Bermuda.

Newfoundland was discovered by the first English sailors to cross the Atlantic Ocean, was formally taken possession of by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, and contains the oldest colonial settlement in the empire. It has therefore a triple reason for its title of the Most Ancient Colony of Newfoundland.

Thus after many days was consummated the project

which Sir Humphrey Gilbert first proclaimed, to which he devoted his life and fortune, and in the execution of which death overtook him.

Such was the beginning of Greater Britain,—is the end in sight?

The rise of the British Empire has been accomplished; further expansion is undesirable, perhaps impossible; must we now watch its decline and fall? Will Great Britain become a lesser Britain, and will Greater Britain cease to exist? These are the most important questions a Britisher can ask himself to-day. For it is evident we are at the parting of the ways. Elements of disintegration are plainly noticeable in many parts of the Empire. Destiny seems to be gradually forcing from the Empire some of its most important parts, against their will and in spite of their protestations of loyalty.

A continuation of the present "*laissez-faire*" policy will undoubtedly end in dissolution. It is imperative that a constructive policy should be formulated, if we wish to preserve intact this Great Empire which our forefathers have bequeathed to us.

Can we not with advantage adopt Humphrey Gilbert's motto, "*Quid Non*," and ask, Why not a closer Federation? Why not a Federal Parliament and Federal Laws? Why not a Federal Defence Force? Why not the Imperial Federation of Greater Britain?

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